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THE
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THE CONTEMPORARY PULPIT IN ITS INFLUENCE
UPON THEOLOGY.

THE revival of theological discussion in this country, after the lapse of rather more than a generation, may be traced chiefly to three causes.

Of these the most direct and wide-spread is, manifestly, to be found in the growth of biblical and historical criticism. It was not to be expected or hoped that the critical spirit, so busy elsewhere, would be diverted from inquiry into the sources of the Christian faith. Indeed, there was abundant reason for critical inquiry in respect to the Bible, quite apart from the necessities of defense against merely destructive criticism. The science of interpretation demanded, as the condition of further progress, a more accurate and a more vivid understanding of the Scriptures in the light of their origin and historical setting. And it will doubtless be conceded that the results already obtained have justified the application of the historical method to the Bible. Better textual exegesis than appears upon the pages of Ellicott and Meyer could not reasonably be asked for, but no student of the New Testament would think of ignoring the work of Lightfoot and Weiss in historical interpretation. Historical criticism, however, as applied to the Scriptures, is more than an auxiliary to exegesis. And reference has been made to its work in this relation simply to indicate the spirit of its approach to theology. What it now asks of theology is a re-statement of the "doctrine of sacred Scripture" according to the historical facts which it has brought to light and according to the method which it has established. At present theological discussion, which affects the Bible, centres about this demand. But we may suppose that as investigation proceeds and the Bible becomes better understood, not only in its origin and

structure, but in its motive and purpose, questions will arise in regard to the various doctrines, as to what in them is biblical and what is extra-biblical, and in regard to any existing system of doctrine, whether it was conceived in the spirit, and satisfies the intent of the Christian Scriptures.

Another cause, less general, but acting within its limits with great moral intensity, is to be found in the incompleteness of the last doctrinal discussion carried on in the Calvinistic schools and churches of the country, specially in those of New England. The large outcome of that discussion was the assertion of the principle of the universality of the atonement,—the atonement, that is, was set free from the limitations of an arbitrary election. The divine sovereignty was declared to consist with the absolute freeness of the atonement. More than this. The divine sovereignty, as informed by the divine benevolence, was declared to be the motive and the guarantee of its freeness and universality. But the principle thus enunciated was not carried to its legitimate conclusion. For of what avail to take the atonement out of the grasp of an arbitrary election and leave it confronted by an arbitrary providence. Where is the real gain in believing that the death of Christ was for all, and, as such, is the only condition of salvation, if his death is to be to the many an unknown and unknowable event? And what is the consistency of affirming the universality of the atonement as an *advance* upon previous conceptions, and at the same time denying that the soul which is to meet Christ in judgment may first have the opportunity of knowing Him as an atoning Saviour? To some minds intent upon the relation of the atonement to law, it may be enough to say, that the death of Christ, because designed for all, is the ground upon which God can, according to his good pleasure, forgive the sins of all, and thereby justify himself in the eyes of the universe. But to other minds intent upon the relation of the atonement to law and also to life, it is not only practically inconclusive, but morally confusing, to hold the death of Christ chiefly to its work of satisfaction to law, and allow it no manifest and complete connection with the life of the race.

I have referred to the moral feeling which characterizes this phase of the theological problem. Thus far the presence of the moral element has been too much ignored or evaded. It has been said that the interest in the question is purely speculative. No greater mistake could be made. The same moral sense which in its time protested against the theory of a limited atonement is

to-day in protest against the theory of the limited application of the atonement. The present discussion inherits the spirit and purpose, as well as the unfinished work, of that which went before. I emphasize the fact that the discussion at this point is an inheritance — an inheritance and not an importation. German theology has reached the idea of universality through its development of the doctrine of the person of Christ; New England theology has reached the same idea of universality through its development of the doctrine of the atonement. The two methods involve equally, — only, if it be possible, the latter with more urgency, — the whole question of the present and future relation of Christ to the race. It is now evident that the discussion cannot be arrested. The discussion will make sensible gains when the moral purpose which actuates it is recognized and appreciated.

A third cause, of which little public notice has been taken, which it will be the object of this article to set forth, is to be found in the growing influence of the pulpit upon theology.

The contemporary pulpit is often charged with the lack of theological preaching. There are some reasons which, while they support the charge, explain it; such as the rapid incoming of other than purely theological subjects within the range of the pulpit, and the partial change in the method of preaching from the forensic to the more literary habit. And, to any one familiar with the recent literature of preaching, signs are not wanting of a return to the theological impulse. It is noticeable that as theology becomes more vital and creative the sermon shows it. Still I am not disposed to call in question or to qualify too much the current opinion that preaching is less theological than in former times. I admit that the pulpit of the past twenty years has not been the exponent or the servant of technical theology, and also that it has not accomplished anything of moment in the re-formulating of theology. But to admit this is very far from admitting that the pulpit has ceased to be an influence upon theology. On the contrary, and for the reason that it has been less theological in purpose and method, its reflex influence has been the greater. Working under the inspiration of motives drawn from the marvelous activities of the church, working also under exposure to the intellectual temptations of the age, and confronting its grave social problems, it has been obliged to take serious account of influences of which theology needs the constant reminder. The modern pulpit has not been a critic of theological systems. It has simply

submitted them to its working tests. Its only criticism upon them has been in their disuse at points where they have failed to work. Some doctrinal statements it has ignored, others it has modified, others still it has made more emphatic. Whether its negative or positive influence has been the greater it might be difficult to determine. All that I wish to affirm is that according to the ability and earnestness with which the pulpit has endeavored to fulfill its own proper functions it has become most influential in theology. Not that its influence has been, or ought to be, in exact proportion to its work,—the question is not at all one of quantity,—but that its work has been of such a nature as to make it necessarily a reconstructive force in theological opinion and belief.

We may consider the work of the contemporary pulpit in its theological bearings under several aspects. One is its relation to the Christian experience and belief; another, its relation to the spirit of inquiry without but within reach of the church; another, its relation to morals; another still, its relation to the evangelistic and missionary movements of the time.

I. One very considerable part of the work of the contemporary pulpit has been to give reality to the Christian experience and the Christian belief. If it be asked if this has not always been a considerable part of the work of the pulpit, I answer, Yes; but not always by the same necessity or to the same degree. Probably few are aware of the vast increase in church membership throughout the country during the past generation, or, if aware of the increase, have fully considered its effect upon the responsibilities of the ministry. According to Dr. Dorchester, there were, in 1880, over ten millions in the membership of evangelical churches in the country, an increase over the year 1850 of more than six and one half millions. One result of this unprecedented increase has been to create congregations made up almost entirely of Christian believers. This is specially noticeable in the larger churches of the cities. Any special service of these churches, as in connection with the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, will show a congregation nearly as large as that of the morning service. Not that it is altogether the same. The entire membership of a church is never in attendance at any given service, but it is always, in such churches, the preponderating influence. Some time ago there was a discussion, in one of the religious papers, of the question whether conversion was one of the lost arts. The discussion opened with the charge, supported by statistics, that many of the larger churches were not making proportionate

gains to their membership through conversions. To which the reply was made, admitting the facts given, but unfolding the work of such churches in other directions. It would have been pertinent to the discussion to have called attention to the fact now under consideration, namely, the want of material *within* the congregations specified for large annual additions to the church. This fact does not excuse any lack in evangelistic effort without, but it does suggest the limitations under which some congregations are placed in respect to conversions from within.

What, now, has been the object of the preacher who has found himself confronted Sabbath after Sabbath by a Christianized congregation? What has he been able to place before himself as the equivalent, in moral and spiritual urgency, to the endeavor of the evangelist for the conversion of men? I answer in one word — reality; the endeavor to make the beliefs which take up the life and lead it on after conversion as real in their power as those which lead up to the act of conversion; to make the experience which follows as real as that involved in the act itself. Observation has shown that mere activity in Christian service is not a substitute for reality in Christian believing. Work cannot often be prescribed as a remedy. It may cure morbidness, but it will not cure doubt and unreality. Neither is it a sufficient treatment for immaturity. The young life must have its growth in grace and in the personal knowledge of Jesus Christ. Every pastor knows that there is an increasing necessity for doctrinal preaching, only it is not of the precise sort for which the formal call is apt to be made. Where doctrinal preaching is called for, the call usually comes from those who wish to revive the circumstances and experiences which attended their own conversion. The sermon which gratifies this desire generally accomplishes little more. It is merely an exercise in "the pleasures of memory." The doctrinal preaching which invigorates and inspires the Christian believer is that which addresses itself to the Christian believer, and to his present, not to his past experiences. It recognizes the Christian life, even in the immature, as begun, — not always in the most satisfactory way, yet as begun, — and proceeds to unfold and urge those truths which were designed to give it assurance, development, reality.

The ministry of to-day, according to my observation, is very much in earnest in its endeavor to satisfy the true conditions of the Christian experience and faith. Perhaps the most serious preaching of the time, — that which has the most spiritual power

about it, — is to be found in this connection. But in this endeavor to meet the necessities of the Christian life, the preacher finds himself less aided than at other points by his theology. True, all the systems recognize and formulate the various doctrines, but some of them seem to lose momentum as they pass the point of conversion. Under the tremendous emphasis placed upon choice, the idea of spiritual education seems to be made altogether secondary. The growth of the soul in the gracious affections is not enforced with that urgency which impels to the act of self-surrender to God. Indeed, while all the systems teach with great distinctness what it is to become a Christian, none show with equal clearness what it is to *be* a Christian. Our Protestant theology can hardly be said to have advanced beyond the doctrine of justification by faith. The theology is yet to be developed which, starting out of this doctrine, shall proceed into the fullness of the doctrine of Christ, specially as represented in his personal relation to the believing soul. The present incentive to the theological development of this truth comes in part from the historical study of the life of Christ, but in larger measure from the endeavor of the pulpit to make Christ more real to men. Modern preaching has not hesitated to utilize in all reverent ways the personality of Christ in the interest of faith. It has made reverent and affectionate use of his earthly experiences, specially of his temptation. It has recovered the incarnation to its true relation to the atonement, emphasizing the fact that while the atonement reached out through the mystery of the sacrifice directly to God, it was yet a sacrifice from within and not from without humanity. And it has magnified the present relations of Christ with his followers, showing how his sacrificial work for them finds its natural completion in his work in and with and through them. Evidently we are yet to have a theological statement of the person of Christ which will correspond more exactly to this increasing apprehension of Him, — a statement which will honor his personal no less than his official relations to men. And with it, I doubt not, there will come in a better definition of the Christian. It is not always easy to recognize the Christian of life in the Christian of theology. The pulpit has been speaking directly to the Christian of life. It has not lowered the Christian ideal, but it has refused to deal in abstractions. It has addressed itself to the Christian as he is in the world, in society, in business, in citizenship, in the church, and to the Christian as he is in the purpose and intention of Christ. And under this treatment the Christian is beginning to come forth a more distinct

figure in theology. It is not too much to assume that theology will give increasing attention to the study of the Christian personality.

II. Another part of the work of the contemporary pulpit, through which it is exercising a direct influence upon theology, grows out of its relation to the spirit of inquiry. I have referred to this spirit as without, but within reach of the church. It is not to be confounded with the spirit of skepticism, which is out of reach of the church through its ordinary ministrations.

There is in most Christian communities no inconsiderable amount of real faith lying adjacent to the church, which finds its expression in doubt and inquiry. The signs of faith are unmistakable, underneath a critical and questioning exterior. Every preacher who makes any strong impression of reality in the holding of his own belief quickly becomes apprised of the presence of a class of serious inquirers after truth. His preaching, if it is sympathetic, seems to invite their approach to him personally. Many of the more helpful preachers have what may be called an office practice, quite distinct from their ordinary pastoral duties. This class of serious inquirers is not large in any community, but its known presence is sufficient to affect the thoughtful preacher. It makes him more careful, I may say more considerate, in his statements of truth. It stimulates him to give to the truth the advantage of its unquestioned and unquestionable authority, to eliminate whatever is doubtful or irrelevant that he may affirm it in its everlasting truthfulness. Such preaching is sometimes called apologetic. It is apologetic in the true sense; not in the sense of accommodation, or of over-adjustment, or of intricate reconciliations, but in the sense of unfolding the Christian truth in its breadth, its consistency, its truthfulness. And such preaching seldom fails to satisfy the spirit of true inquiry. It answers all those questionings — and they are the most numerous — which arise from misconceptions and misunderstandings in respect to Christian doctrine. It meets the condition of those who remain more or less attached to the church, through their moral sympathies or through their cravings for worship, but whose minds are in revolt against certain supposed requirements of belief.

The tendency to reach back of inherited doctrinal forms into the essential truths which they once sought to embody is a conspicuous characteristic of the modern pulpit. The most influential preachers in all the schools illustrate it in their preaching. None of them, so far as I am aware, lay unnecessary burdens upon the believing

faculty. None of them assume responsibility for doctrines no longer in force in the language in which they are stated in the creeds. And why should they? What virtue is there in superfluous believing? Why introduce the doctrine of penance into faith after having driven it out from works? Unnecessary believing always reduces faith to the minimum. Faith grows through the clear apprehension of positive and undeniable truths. And these are the truths which are finding utterance through contemporary preaching. I would not affirm greater sincerity of the pulpit of our time than of the pulpit of other times. But I do detect the growing purpose to make the spoken word correspond to the actual idea in the mind, and to the actual conviction at the heart. The pulpit has learned by experience the peculiar value, in these times, of carefulness in expression; partly, as we have seen, through the persistent questioning to which it has been subjected, as to the meaning of avowed beliefs, and partly through the silent demand, everywhere felt, for reality in the holding of religious truth. And as the result of this experience, the pulpit does not hesitate to offer as its word of advice to theology, "Say what you mean." Theology is not indifferent to this advice. It is trying to say what it means, no more, no less. It is endeavoring to restate its doctrines in terms of actual belief, according to the largest apprehension of them by the church. The new Congregational Creed must be regarded as an effort toward this end. And in so far as it has accomplished this purpose it is strong in its working power. Where it aims chiefly at ecclesiastical unity or even at theological freedom, it is weaker. Its strength is manifest at points where it voices the full and hearty belief of the church. But this creed was not wrought out in the simple development of theology. It was not the product of the schools. It was called for by the churches. It was the first formal response of theology to the practical demands of the ministry for a creed expressive of the present faith of the church.

The process of restatement thus begun will go on. The great confessions will not be remodeled. Neither will they be superseded until one as great as they shall appear. Meanwhile formularies of doctrine will gradually come into use. The doctrines in dispute will be submitted to candid discussion. Those who insist upon adherence, in any given case, to the older forms of statement will be asked to say precisely what these mean. They will not be allowed to reaffirm statements without explanation. That would be to allow dogmatism. After a time discussion always

goes over into question and answer. So progress is made in theological statement. What has been known in New England as the New School theology made its way chiefly by questions. At the examination of candidates for the ministry, and at councils called for the installation of ministers, untenable positions were forced and carried by sharp questioning. There is thus immediate precedent for questioning in behalf of the new as well as in behalf of the old. And I would raise the query whether the time may not have come, in present discussions to ask those who are honestly opposed to any restatement of existing forms of doctrine to state just what these doctrines mean as now held, — to state for example just what is the doctrine of sacred Scripture, or just what is the doctrine as to the salvation of the heathen. At least let us understand that there is responsibility in holding as well as in changing theological forms.

III. In any estimate of the present influence of the pulpit upon theology we may not overlook its relation to morals. The ethical tendency of modern preaching has been perhaps its most marked tendency. The president of a university, who has had occasion to listen for some years to sermons preached by representative preachers of different denominations, recently told me that the prevailing tone of their discourses was ethical. Probably any careful observation of present types of preaching would confirm this conclusion. Whatever may be the subject of pulpit discourse, the tone is quite sure to be ethical. The general effect of this tendency in preaching upon theology will doubtless be conceded to be healthful. I am not aware of any apprehension of a relapse into merely moral preaching like that which characterized the English pulpit in the times which preceded the evangelical revival under the Wesleys and Whitefield. The present impulse is Christian. The motive power is taken directly from the heart of the gospel.

I will refer to one point at which the effect of this tendency may be called in question. The subject-matter of ethical preaching is at present chiefly concerned with the relation of the individual to society, or with the relation of society to the individual. Can the pulpit continually emphasize this relationship, can it constantly treat the individual as belonging to society, and yet preserve and develop the personal sense of responsibility and the personal sense of sin?

Evidently the relation of the individual to society can be so urged as to deepen the sense of personal responsibility. Read the

sermons which Bishop Henry C. Potter preached when rector of Grace Church, New York, published as "Sermons of the City," and the opportunity for the instruction of conscience in this direction becomes evident. The titles of many of these sermons — "Related Life," "The Social Indifferentist," "The Perils of Wealth," "The Homes of the Poor," "The Duty of Woman to Woman," "Owe no Man Anything," "One Another's Burdens," — suggest and enforce the idea of personal obligation. And this obligation of the individual to society is seen to be of the nature of law. Christianity has made it such. "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." There can be no doubt, I think, of the power of the pulpit, to create in the individual the sense of responsibility by enforcing his obligations to society. But when we turn to the other side the case is not so plain. Indeed, we must concede a certain danger to theology from the present strong reaction from the individualism of the more immediate past. It is difficult to maintain the personal sense of sin under the knowledge of what society has done and is doing to make the individual a sinner. Nevertheless, the facts are before us, brought to light through various instrumentalities. Theology gets the reminder of them from all quarters. When the preacher chose for his text, — I take the text of a famous sermon with which the congregations of southern New England were familiar some years ago, — "Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother an Hittite," he was simply anticipating the results of recent studies in heredity. And when the pulpit now holds up some special phase of the corrupting influence of society upon the individual, it says no more than can be read every day in the issue of the press. Many, becoming alarmed at the growth of social influences which are adverse to individual character, are crying out for a return to the individualism of the past. But that is impossible. The pulpit has been taking a wiser method. Unconsciously it may be, but in marked correspondence it has been following out the old prophetic course. When the people of the time of Ezekiel took refuge from their personal sins in the thought of their corrupt inheritances, and the proverb became current in the streets of Jerusalem, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge," God sent his prophet to them with this message: "As I live," saith the Lord, "ye shall not any more have occasion to use this proverb in Israel: Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine." Here was no setting up of the idea of mere individualism. The truth

upon which the prophet was to insist was not that of the separateness of man from man, but rather that of every man's relation to God. In this lay their condemnation, in this lay their hope. This truth is beginning to find utterance again in our own time. The true prophet dares to say now to every man whom he finds in his sin, whatever may have brought him into it: "You are more than the offspring of an unworthy parentage; you are more than the creature of society; you are more than self-made; you are a child of God; here is your sin, here is your hope." So the pulpit, in seeking to awaken the personal sense of sin even in the most degraded, does not resort to the appeal to a bald individualism. It does not attempt to affirm the separateness of a man from his fellows, an affirmation which would be false. It does affirm the closeness of his relation to God, which is the most certain, the most glorious, the most awful fact of his being. And in affirming this fact, even though it be, as I have intimated, in seeming unconsciousness of its full meaning, it is rendering the greatest possible service to theology at the point of its greatest danger. Theology must guard at all hazards the truth of personal responsibility for sin. And the guardianship of this truth has been committed to the greater truth of the real personality of every man through his relation to God.

IV. It remains for us to consider the theological effect of the present relation of the pulpit to evangelistic and missionary movements.

The fact which here arrests our attention is that a great deal of the work which the church is carrying on under the inspirations of the pulpit is without any very definite theological support or incentive. Where, for example, shall we find among the systems a sufficient warrant for one of the largest and most beautiful activities of the church, its work for the child of the world? The child, as such, has not yet acquired any theological standing. The systems which start on the plane of moral agency hardly stoop to him at all, while those which make room for the child of faith have no logical provision for the child of indifference and unbelief. And yet the church practically does its work impartially and without questioning. It is with the work of the church for children as it is with its belief in their salvation. Theology has not found any absolutely consistent way in which to save the child of the world, but the Christian church does not for a moment hesitate in its faith concerning his future, and in the same spirit in which it believes in his salvation works for his rescue and for the growth of his life in Christ.

Or, again, where shall we find the theological precedent for the method which is most characteristic of the evangelistic work of our time? I grant that it is not the office of theology to prescribe method. Still some methods may be seen to be more consistent with existing systems than others. The method in evangelistic work which attended the development of the theological beliefs of the last generation was "through the law to the gospel." The present method is by the direct, immediate, and complete application of the gospel. Certainly this is a fair statement of the contrast between the method of Mr. Moody and that of Mr. Finney. Dr. G. F. Pentecost, who may be accepted as the theologian of the present evangelistic movement, continually emphasizes the change in method. Writing in "The Independent," under date of May 24, 1888, he concludes the story of a conversation with a colored porter of a palace car, who "dreaded de process" of conversion, in these words: "I fear that he did not quite see it all, but he said that it was a new way of putting it, and that he would think about it, but that was not the way his 'ole mudder was converted,' and he knew she was right. I fear that there are thousands of others who, to a certain extent, accept God's word against themselves, and would desire and do desire to be Christians, *but they 'dread the process.'*" The truth is that Jesus underwent all the dreadfulness of the process of human redemption that eternal life might come to us, with the whole train of unspeakable blessings that go with it, as a gift; something to be *received* and not achieved. The work of the Holy Spirit in conviction and regeneration is not necessarily with tumult and confusion. It is through the word persuading us of its truth and leading us to believe, trust God in Christ for our salvation." I do not doubt the essential agreement of Mr. Moody and his co-workers with the theological beliefs of Mr. Finney, but it makes a very great difference as to the order in which we place our beliefs in any working system of truth. The motive power lies quite as much in the order and arrangement of the truths, as in the truths themselves.

And then, as to missions. The preaching which supports foreign missions is not the same as that which inaugurated the missionary epoch. Some of the arguments which were then most vehemently urged, have fallen into disuse, or have changed their relative place. They have been retired from the pulpit and from the platforms of the missionary boards, and others have been brought to the front. Not that they are never referred to, but they are not pushed, they are not made *the* motive to missions. But

there can be no doubt as to which type of preaching is most nearly in agreement with the theology which is associated with the early missionary efforts. The founders of the "American Board" were theologians as well as preachers; and they preached precisely what they held. Their theology was vital and active, and they took it with them everywhere, into the pulpit, into the school, into the organizations of the church. Admitting this, some will ask at once, "Must we not return in our preaching in behalf of missions to the theology which was identified with their origin and early history?" That is the question. It is a more serious question than those who ask it may at first suppose. It carries with it an alternative. Soon or late we must adjust our preaching in behalf of missions to our theology, or we must adjust the theology of missions to our preaching. Which shall it be? Shall we recover to their former place in preaching the arguments and motives which entered so largely into the inception of missions, or shall we give prominence to the arguments and motives which missions in their development are giving back into the thought and faith of the church? I say the arguments and motives which missions are giving back to the church, for missions have already done more than all else to expand and uplift theology. And the pulpit has been the first to catch the reflex influence. Missions have given to the pulpit that conception of God which has become its active and ruling theology. Without waiting for definitions, the modern pulpit has surrendered itself with a sublime abandon to the missionary or Christian conception of God. This does not mean the larger and more urgent preaching of the love of God. Those are right who insist that the love of God has been preached at other times as truly and as impressively as now. The only difference at this point is in the reliance placed upon God's love as a motive. As we have seen in reference to evangelistic work, the gospel is accounted a greater force for the conviction of men, a greater instrumentality in their conversion, than the law. The conception of God which has been coming in upon the church through missions, and which has been caught up by the pulpit, has gone beyond the thought of his love. It has been that of the absolute impartiality of God's relation, in the person and work of Jesus Christ, to the whole human race. The pulpit has not formulated this idea. Its utterances have been general, very often involving more than the individual preacher might wish to admit in conclusion. But conclusions are inevitable, they follow all genuine speech and work. If missions are to go on, theology must try to

settle the questions which they raise. And among present questions are such as these: Is Christianity absolute and universal in its relation to the race, or is it relative and partial? Is God at work through one scheme of redemption or through many? Is there one law of working for the Christian and another for the heathen, one method of salvation for the Christian and another for the heathen, one judgment for the Christian and another for the heathen?

It has been said of the Declaration of Independence that it was made up of "glittering generalities." But they were generalities which gave expression to the newly awakened enthusiasm for liberty, and made possible a nation organized upon the basis of equality. The "generalities" of the pulpit in respect to the breadth and scope of the divine purpose for the race, in respect to the intensity and urgency of God's love for man, in respect to the universality of the atonement, in respect to the impartiality of the application of it through the work of the Holy Spirit, have in them truths which are yet to be more clearly embodied in the thought and belief of the church, and more definitely organized into its work. Else they are dangerous, and ought to be recalled. Preaching and work ought to express theology. Theology ought to support and inspire preaching and work. It is evident, I think, that missions are doing more just now for theology, than theology is doing for missions. And I have tried to show on these pages that the contemporary pulpit has been doing not a little of its work in ways independent of formulated theology or in advance of it. Theology, I believe, ought to take careful account of this work, formulating what is true, eliminating what is false.

This article has been written under the serious conviction that the causes which have revived theological discussion in this country are practical and moral quite as much as scholastic and speculative. I have chosen to refer to the pulpit as representative of these causes. Exception may be taken to some of my positions. The observation of others may lead them to differ from me in my estimates of the present tendencies and work of the pulpit. I am not anxious for agreement at points where the facts may not appear to be decisive. My object will be accomplished in so far as I may gain from any minds the clear recognition of the fact that there is a moral purpose involved in the present theological discussion, and that there are practical necessities urging it on, which must be acknowledged and satisfied before the discussion can cease.

William J. Tucker.

UNFAITH.

"Faith and unfaith can ne'er be equal powers." — TENNYSON.

YE fools and blind! . . . exalt your Christless creeds,
Unflushed by vital fruit, or fragrant flower! —
How can the sapless germs of barren seeds
Bear sweetness, grace, or power?

And ye, who will not plant where Prayer's rich Nile
Floods the soul's upland, but on desert slopes,
Look not to glorify the bounteous smile
Of Heaven's high harvest-hopes!

Some grope in midnight, and still deem it morn, —
Bruising their brows on many a holy shrine, —
And spill, in darkness of a maddening scorn,
God's sacramental wine!

The world discordant rings with catch-word calls
Of loud Unfaith, whose treacherous echoes start
Backward, to smite at vengeful intervals
The rash Blasphemer's heart!

Error and Pride go blundering hand in hand, —
To vex our souls with antique problems gray,
No son of earth was *meant* to understand,
This side the Judgment Day!

On dateless mysteries and supernal fates
They spend the harshness of irreverent breath, —
And fain would pluck, with zeal that desecrates,
All veils from life or — death!

Ah! let me pass from turmoil to pure calm,
Unscarred by passion and unquelled by pain, —
Where Nature lays her cool magnetic palm
On fevered pulse and brain, —

Where Law and ancient Concord rule alone
A realm undeaved by man's tempestuous vice, —

Where Truths we know foreshadow the Unknown, —
And dream 't is — Paradise!

Behold! the adoring Planets wheel in space,
The undegenerate Seasons come and go, —
While I in May-dawns see God's radiant face,
And, when night-winds are low,

Hear his still voice blend with the lute-like rill's,
The rustling heath-sedge, and wave-murmurous lea,
To whisper strangely past the reverent hills,
And die across the sea!

Paul Hamilton Hayne.

COPSE HILL, GA.

THE PURITANS AND THEIR PSALM TUNES.

It is now several years since Matthew Arnold expressed his famous (or, as many thought, infamous) judgment upon the Pilgrim Fathers. "Figure to ourselves," he said, "Shakespeare or Virgil, souls in whom sweetness and light and all that in human nature is most humane were eminent, accompanying [the Mayflower party] on their voyage, and think what intolerable company Shakespeare and Virgil would have found them!"

This utterance naturally gave offense to many loyal descendants of the Pilgrims, and the feeling of resentment was none the less, if the conviction was sometimes felt that the intellectual disparagement thus implied was doubtless pretty well deserved.

However that may be, it is certainly worthy of note that the spirit and turn of mind which Mr. Arnold calls Hellenism, and which he so much admires, should have become so conspicuous among the descendants of the Puritans that the capital of the colony with which the Plymouth company was soon identified has been called (whether in derision, or with true devotion, it matters not for our present purpose) the "Athens of America."

If now we are to regard all things, according to modern scientific methods, as the outcome of certain inherent elements, as the unfolding of germs previously existing in some ruder form, should we not expect to find that the culture of the modern Puritan had its promise and potency in some of the characteristics of the primitive Puritan?

Investigation would probably show such an *a priori* expectation to be well grounded, and might bring to light those seeds, that æsthetic protoplasm, in the apparently prim and rigid Puritan character, which have borne such rich fruitage in modern times.

At all events, such a path of progress is demonstrable in respect to music, in regard to which the age of the Puritans was not such an unilluminated Dark Age as it has been sometimes represented. Large allowance should of course be made for the influx of new elements and agencies from Teutonic and other sources, yet it can be shown that the great and active interest now felt in this art is not the result of any wayward wandering from the principles of the Puritans. It is rather a natural progress from the beginnings they made and the spirit they infused into New England life.

Mrs. Hemans's lines, —

"And the sounding aisles of the forest rang
To the anthem of the free,"

as a geographical description of the sandy shores of Cape Cod Bay, must perhaps be taken with some allowance for poetic color, but they record a veritable fact, so far as the singing is concerned.

The Pilgrims were of a singing stock. The English Puritans were ever psalm-singers, and the men of the Mayflower, during their long stay in Holland, had come in contact with influences from Geneva and Wittenberg which set them still more strongly in this direction. Indeed, the Puritan movement in England has been too often judged from its later manifestations. In its earlier phases it was not so destitute of æsthetic culture and refinement as many have inferred. It is quite certain that the early Puritans designed to create neither a schism in the church nor a faction in the state. In their shrinking from the hypocrisy and profligacy into which the Established Church had largely fallen, they were of kindred mind and temper with Jeremy Taylor and George Herbert. Any defense of their position or principles is now superfluous.

But it is important for us to observe that this early and noble Puritanism had no quarrel with the graces and humanities of life. It was not a movement among the humble and illiterate alone; it included the majority of the country clergy and many gentry in its ranks. The most shining example of its tastes and tendencies is no doubt Milton, "the genius of Puritan England," as Mr. Masson calls him; "not only the highest but the completest type of Puritanism," as he is called by Mr. Green. Not merely his vast classical learning, but also the inclination and influences of Mil-

ton's early years, show how far the gayety and the intellectual graces of Hellenism were compatible with Puritan ideals. Milton's father was a "precisian" (in the language of the day), but he was a skillful performer on the organ, a composer of psalm tunes and secular madrigals; and he devoted his son, "while yet a little boy, to the study of humane letters." This Puritan boy had a strict and severe training, yet he was not wholly forbidden the theatre when "sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child," was presented. His early poems show how fully he appreciated and felt the charm of the Gothic church architecture with its "storied windows" and its "dim religious light," its "pealing organ" and its "full-voiced choir in service high and anthem clear." They show us that he felt no scruples at joining sometimes the "crew of mirth," with its "jolly rebeck," and

"Many a youth and many a maid
Dancing in the chequered shade."

And not only in the early poems, but throughout his life, we find his devotion to music undimmed and his love for it and faith in its divine potency among the most cherished sentiments of his soul. In the treatise on Education, after enumerating the other studies and pursuits which the youth, in his ideal system, should follow, he says: "The interim may both with profit and delight be taken up in *recreating* and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learned, either whilst the skillful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ stop, waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions."

We see little lack of "what in human nature is most humane" in such Puritanism as this, and, judging from this picture alone, we should find it hard to believe in the gloomy hostility to sweetness and light for which the Puritans have been so often denounced. Yet hear the Rev. Dr. Barwick, in his treatise entitled "*Querula Cantabrigiensis*," published after the Restoration:—

"The knipper-dolings of the age," he says (speaking of the Puritans during the Commonwealth), "broke the heart-strings of Learning, thrust out one of the eyes of this kingdom, made Eloquence dumb, Philosophy sottish, widowed the Arts, drove the Muses from their ancient habitation,

and tore the garland from off the head of Learning to place it on the dull brows of disloyal Ignorance."

These are embittered and intemperate words, yet we must admit that there was much in the later developments of Puritanism to provoke them.

Under the pressure of persecution and intolerance, that early movement for a higher purity in religion became a fierce partisan quarrel. Personal aims, ambitions, intrigues, and resentments were mingled in the struggle. In the heat of such dissensions much of the calm beauty of the first Puritanism disappeared. Reason, sense of proportion, and measure were overborne by the fierceness of partisan virulence. Little things became great, and non-essentials were made of chief moment, until an abnormal conscience came to be developed, which loathed a May-pole on the village green, or a sprig of holly, or a mince-pie at Christmas, with as much abhorrence as a black sin or foul uncleanness.

But from very much of this deterioration and loss of breadth our New England Puritans were delivered by their very absence from the scene of strife. The Pilgrims of the Mayflower and their associates especially, withdrawing to Holland in the reign of Elizabeth and the early years of King James, were thus out of the country during all the years of the civil wars and the embitterments of that period. And during their stay in Holland the "church of Christ in Leyden" was brought near to other influences which cannot be overlooked in estimating truly the germs of æsthetic and musical feeling which came to this continent with the Mayflower. They were most affected, of course, by the discipline and doctrine of the Genevan church. And here Calvin's zeal for music had set the use of this art in worship in marked contrast to the employment of any other æsthetic or ornate appliances for religious purposes. Calvin dashed the stained glass from the church windows, and expelled the pictures and statues. But he required his congregations to sing. He even went beyond the Church of Rome in requiring the Psalms to be sung instead of read in public worship. In 1551 the first installment of the "Genevan Psalter" with tunes appeared. It comprised thirty-four psalm-tunes arranged by Louis Bourgeois. This book is memorable for the first known appearance in it of the tune which is called the Old Hundredth or Old Hundred. These tunes soon found their way through Europe into England. John Robinson's congregation may have sung some of them before they left their Lincolnshire homes. It is certain that during their stay in Holland

this music was sung, and much of it taken into another collection, which the Pilgrims brought with them to this country.

Musical influences from other quarters cannot perhaps be traced so directly, yet some of them were so near and potent that they well deserve consideration in such an estimate as we are making. John Robinson's church in Leyden was not an obscure or isolated company in the city. They were treated with much consideration by the other Protestants of the place, and had much intercourse with them. The famous old university held Pastor Robinson in high regard, and invited him to take part in their discussions on church polity, and when he died, Cotton Mather says, "the university and the ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities." By such intercourse, the Pilgrims were brought into contact not only with the university, then as now one of the most famous seats of learning in the world, but also with a musical culture superior to any then existing in Europe. The Netherlands had been for more than a century the centre of a great school of musical composers. The masters who flourished there were really the founders of the modern science of music. One of them, Okeghem, "must," says Kiesewitter, "be regarded the founder of all schools of music from his own to the present day." Of Josquin des Prés, Okeghem's pupil and successor, Luther quaintly says, "Josquin is a master of the notes. They have to do as he wants them to, whereas other composers have to do as the notes want to." The Netherland school had left a decided impress upon the musical performances in all the churches with which the Pilgrims came in contact in Holland. The mention of Luther, too, suggests the fact that there were Lutheran churches in Holland at this time, and that Germany was but a few miles distant. The followers of Calvin, to be sure, would doubtless be little inclined to adopt Lutheran methods and usages, yet some influences from this source can be traced and others may reasonably be inferred. Luther's mighty and vigorous championship of music is well known. He went much farther in the matter of using music in worship than Calvin, who limited the performances to the singing of the Psalms by the congregation; whereas Luther set himself to adapt a religious service to the ancient and splendid music of the Romish Church, as well as to introduce a variety of psalms and hymns for popular use. How little averse he was to retain Romish usages in this respect can be seen from his own words. In 1541, at the time of a threatened invasion of Europe by the Turks, he wrote: "I rejoice to let the

Seventy-ninth Psalm, 'O God, the heathen are come,' be sung as usual, one choir after another. Accordingly, let one sweet-voiced boy step before the desk in his choir, and sing alone the antiphone or sentence, '*Domine ne secundam,*' and after him let another boy sing the other sentence, '*Domine ne memineris,*' and then let the whole choir sing on their knees, '*Adjuva nos Deus,*' just as it was in the Popish fasts, for it sounds and looks very devotional."

To what a different extreme the zeal for non-conformity with Rome carried the more fanatical among the English Puritans is exhibited in their petition against this very style of antiphonal singing which Luther thus commended. This petition, sent in 1586 to Parliament, was modestly signed "A request from all true Christians to the Honourable House of Parliament," and contained the following clause: "And we do pray you that all cathedral churches may be put down, where the service of God is most grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing and trowling of psalms from one side of the choir to the other, with the squeaking of chanting choristers." A very great change, truly, from the Puritanism which we heard speaking in Milton's sublime description of the "pealing organ" and the "full-voiced choir in service high and anthem clear!"

Luther's influence upon the English church music and the Puritan psalm-singing was very considerable. Before the Puritan movement had taken on any distinct party form, Archbishop Parker, Queen Elizabeth's primate, had made great efforts to promote congregational singing in all the churches. Under his sanction, a translation of the Psalms was made into English verse, the well-known version of Sternhold and Hopkins; a version whose merits as a faithful translation were many, but as an exhibition of any poetic sentiment or skill were very few. The first edition of this work contained nineteen psalms and appeared in 1549. It was entitled, "Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David and drawn into English Metre, by Thomas Sternhold, Groom of ye Kynge's Majestie's Roobes."

This was in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and thirteen years later Sternhold, with the assistance of John Hopkins, a school-master, completed the versification of the whole Psalter, and it was appended, with Archbishop Parker's official sanction, to the Prayer-Book, which was then restored. The title-page of this book declares that it was "set forth and allowed to be sung in all the churches of the people together, and moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and comfort." The tunes of this edition, of

which only the melody was inserted, were taken almost entirely from the Genevan Psalter and from Luther's Psalm-books. This publication gave great stimulus to the study and practice of singing, and numerous other compilations followed, containing other tunes and directions for musical practice and performance. The most important of these was Thomas Este's Psalm-book, published in 1590, entitled, "The whole Book of Psalms, with their wonted tunes as they are sung in churches, composed into four parts by ten sundry Authors, so laboured in this work that the unskillfull by small practice may attain to sing that part which is fittest for his voice."

Another notable work was Thomas Ravenscroft's collection, which contained a separate tune for each of the one hundred and fifty Psalms. This book, which was published in 1621, was entitled "The Whole Booke of Psalmes with the Hymnes Evangelicall and Songs Spirituall, composed into four parts by sundry Authors, to such tunes as have become and are usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands." Among the "sundry Authors" who assisted Ravenscroft was John Milton, father of the poet. The tunes York and Norwich, which he composed for this work, still survive among our most valuable and appropriate tunes for congregational singing. Other tunes of this and Este's book, as the Old Hundredth, Windsor, Winchester, Rochester, Dundee, and Mear, bid fair to attain the immortality they deserve.

These books were used by all classes of English Christians, and very likely some of them were in the hands of the Pilgrim congregation before they removed to Holland. Another work, however, by Henry Ainsworth, became especially appropriated by the refugees in that land. Ainsworth was himself a prominent person among the "Brownists." He removed to Holland, about 1590, and found employment with a bookseller in Amsterdam, where he lived until his death in 1622. He made a poetical version of the Psalms, which was published, with tunes, in 1612. Ainsworth's poetry was even less pleasing than Sternhold's, but his music was drawn largely from the same sources. This book was adopted by the Pilgrims in Leyden, and brought with them to this continent. From this they sang on the Mayflower's voyage. From this they sang on the day before they landed at Plymouth, which, being the Lord's Day, they spent, says Mather, "in the devout and pious exercises of a sacred rest." This book was used exclusively by the Plymouth church, and by the New Eng-

land congregations generally until the year 1640. Ainsworth says, in his preface, "Tunes for the Psalms I find not any set of God. Therefore, all people may use the most grave, decent, and comfortable manner of singing that they know." "Comfortable" was used, of course, in the sense of "comforting;" but, even with the modern meaning of the terms, this triple test might be employed with advantage in selecting our so-called "sacred" music.

We are not to conclude from this summary of the musical influences which were near or present to the Pilgrims before their emigration that they came to this country to teach music or to establish an academy of the fine arts; nor need we modify the usual belief about them that they were grave, plain men, seeking freedom from religious persecution and an opportunity to establish and develop the faiths which they held most sacred. But what may be inferred and what has been somewhat overlooked and misrepresented is, that they came with no such natural inaptitude or deep-seated repugnance to the graces and adornments of a higher culture as is often assumed, and that they were delivered by a happy Providence from the extremes of fanaticism and vandalism into which partisan rancor carried many of their brethren in the mother country. The great out-blossoming of musical and literary activity which the Puritan capital has seen in later days is no sign of degeneracy or apostacy from the spirit of the fathers. It is rather the direct and legitimate outcome of the influences which moved in the hearts of the Pilgrims and of the forces which they at once set in motion here.

At the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the First Church in Boston, the minister of the church said, "The question is asked, What would your founders say about the grandeur and artistic beauty of this edifice, its storied windows, its organ and choir, and the green boughs of its Christmas device and flowers of its Easter service, its furnaces and cushioned pews? If we care to answer, we should say that the Puritans built the best meeting-house they could, and each renewed edifice has improved upon the preceding one."

That this progressive spirit in all matters of intelligence and taste was characteristic of the first settlers, a very brief examination of their activity will suffice to show.

The foundation of Harvard College but six years after the settlement of the Massachusetts colony is a perpetual evidence of their attitude toward scholarship and the intellectual life. They

seem to have assumed, spontaneously and as a matter of course, that these interests should have a foremost place in all their plans and arrangements. The same feeling controlled their treatment of church music and psalmody. They perceived at once that it should be improved and cared for, and the New England pastors proceeded to give it the benefit of the best thought, the best scholarship, and the best talent which they could obtain or bestow.

When we see how often, in more recent times, this labor has been tacitly left to irresponsible and incompetent hands, and how much that is indecorous and inappropriate, — neither grave, decent, nor comfortable, — has been placidly taken by intelligent congregations in our cities and towns, we may well wish that the Puritan pastors of our day would emulate their early predecessors in the churches in this respect.

Progress in all good things was to be expected of the Pilgrims so long as they treasured the famous parting admonitions of Pastor Robinson, in which he set forth the "misery much to be lamented" of coming "to a period in religion," so that the "Lutheran cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw, and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God."

In the resolute desire for improvement thus commended the Puritan pastors soon turned their attention to their version of the Psalms. "Though," says Cotton Mather, "they blessed God for the religious endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into meeter, yet they beheld in the translation so many detractions from, additions to, and variations of, not only the text, but the very sense of the Psalmist, that it was an offence unto them."

A new translation was accordingly resolved upon, and the chief divines of the country took each a portion for preparation. This was in 1636, and in 1640 the translation was completed and printed at Cambridge.

We cannot say that this was poetry of a very high order, judged from a modern standpoint. The 137th Psalm, for instance, — "By the rivers of Babylon we sat down," — began as follows : —

"The rivers on
Of Babylon,
There where we did set downe,
Yea even then
We mourned when
We remembered Sion.

Our harp we did
Hang it amid
Upon the willow tree
Because there they
That us away
Led in captivity."

But if we think we can detect shortcomings in such psalmody, let us take notice that the Puritans detected them too. No sooner was this version published than, as Mather says, "It was thought that a little more of art was to be employed upon them." To this end the Rev. Henry Dunster, the new first President of Harvard College, an elegant Hebrew scholar and eminent for learning in every way, was engaged to revise the version. President Dunster held some heretical opinions touching infant baptism which, in the eyes of the jealous guardians of orthodoxy at that time, rendered his influence as an instructor of the young unsafe and pernicious, and he was soon removed from his position in the college. But his ripe culture and Christian spirit were unquestioned, and his services in the perfecting of the "Bay Psalm-Book," as it was called, were thankfully received and long held in grateful remembrance. The versification was still an evidence that the translators, to use their own words, "had attended more to conscience than elegance," and Mather said that he "joined heartily with those gentlemen who wish that the poetry hereof were mended." And, in the years that followed, attempts to mend it were frequent and fruitful. In 1691 the "Bay Psalm-Book" was again revised throughout by a committee of ministers. About this time the Sternhold and Hopkins collection was introduced and extensively used until the great work of Dr. Watts appeared and was universally adopted.

In 1647 Dr. John Cotton, the first pastor of Boston, published a treatise on singing, which discoursed of the duty of singing, and the manner and the matter of it. Dr. Cotton was a scholar whose Hellenism would have stood almost any test. His admiring namesake, Cotton Mather, may doubtless be believed when he says of his knowledge of the three languages used in the inscription on the cross, "The Hebrew he understood so exactly and so readily that he was able to discourse in it. In the Greek he was a critick so accurate and so well-versed, that if many of the antients committed gross mistakes in their interpretations through want of skill in the originals, Mr. Cotton was better qualified for an interpreter. He both wrote and spoke Latin also, with great

facility, and with a most Ciceronian elegance." This was the sort of learning and culture which was stirring the young community to progress in music and all kinds of higher amelioration.

That we may properly appreciate in what a path of sweetness and light our colonists were walking at this time, we need to glance once more at contemporary events in the mother country. These were the days of the Puritan Parliament and the Civil War. Continued turmoil and dissension had brought the purity of the Puritan party to a low point, at which the noisy outcries of an ignorant and fanatical rabble could drown the voices of the wise and temperate.

On May 9, 1644, Parliament enacted the following edict: "The Lords and Commons in Parl^t. the better to accomplish the blessed reformation so happily begun, and to remove all offences and things illegal in the worship of God, do ordain . . . that all organs and the frames and cases wherein they stand in all churches and chapells aforesaid shall be taken away and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places."

This sacrilegious and monstrous enactment was actually carried out. Bands of wanton soldiers, with axes and hammers, went throughout the land demolishing the noble instruments which had voiced the worship of God for centuries. Only four or five organs in all England escaped demolition at this time. The use of musical instruments in private houses was also discouraged. At a Convocation in Bridgewater, in 1655, the following proposition was discussed:—

"Whether a believing man or woman, being the head of a family, in this day of the Gospell, may keepe in his or her house an instrument of musicke, playing on them or admitting others to play on them?" The answer was given with a text of Scripture which has often been perverted to teach absurd and unchristian asceticisms. "It is the duty of the saintes to abstaine from all appearance of evil, and not make provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof."

Thus, in Old England, was the Puritan name disgraced, while in New England the Puritans were putting their best thought and talent into the work of adding "somewhat more of art" to the means of public worship, and Dr. Cotton was using his eloquence and his learning to expound the duty and the manner of singing. If it should seem that this contrast is too strongly pressed, and that the New England colonists did not destroy organs simply

because they had none to destroy, let us concede that the isolation of the first settlers, their new interests and duties, their removal from the scenes and objects about which abuses and quarrels had grown up, were the happy influences which gave a better shape to matters here. But we must not withhold on this account a due recognition from the men whose zeal for religion did not dull their perception of whatsoever things are lovely and of good report. In the instructive records of the Massachusetts General Court is to be found this entry, under date of June 1, 1641, Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Bradstreet, and others, being on the bench: "Edward Tomlins, retracting his opinions against singing in church, was discharged." It does not appear what opinions Mr. Tomlins held that were reprehensible, but it is probable that he had caught some infection from the bigoted vagaries which were rampant at this time in England; and although, as appears from other entries in the records, he was a prominent member of the community, it seems that he was put in durance vile until he had ceased to hold objections to singing in churches.

In reference to organs in churches, it is true that when, in 1712, Queen's Chapel procured an organ from England, the trustees kept it unpacked in the porch of the church for seven months, fearing that its erection would call forth some hostile demonstration. Yet, when it was finally put up, no molestation occurred. Very soon after this time organ-building began to be done in Boston, and ere long, after some discussion, organs were admitted to the Puritan churches, and thus a new and important step toward higher musical culture was taken.

We may fairly claim, therefore, some respect for this phase of New England Puritanism, and still more for that spirit of progress in all good things which Pastor Robinson inculcated. We should cherish the grand old Puritan tunes which remain to us. These are to be carefully distinguished from the so-called "Old Folks'" tunes, which have been frequently revived in modern times. These jerky, grotesque, capering strains, devoid alike of simple dignity and artistic elegance, were the work of Billings, Ingalls, and other American composers who lived about the time of our Revolutionary War. They are the work of illiterate people, trying to talk learnedly, — musical Dogberrys and Mrs. Malaprops, trying to express themselves in language they do not understand, — makers of "fugues" with none of the elements of fugal writing or thematic treatment, save successive entrance of the parts. The tunes of the Puritans are of a different type, and one which fitly

voices the Puritan character. They are the stirring old chorals, — Old Hundred, Monmouth, Nuremberg, York, Mear, Dundee, — music which is solid, massive, rich in harmony, not tricked out with florid ornamentation, but aspiring, vigorous, lifting up heart and soul to the worship of Almighty God.

Edwin H. Higley.

WORCESTER, MASS.

THE HOME OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

To trace his theological pedigree, the New Englander first of all makes reverent pilgrimage to Scrooby, and thence to Leyden, hoping to catch some lingering effluence of the spirit of John Robinson. Stopping by the way at the scene of the Synod of Dort, he then journeys to Geneva, and visits the home and sits in the chair of John Calvin. Only then is he quite prepared to go down the Rhone through the haunts of Cæsar of Arles, and over the sea past the exile retreat of Fulgentius of Ruspe, to North Africa, the old home of St. Augustine.

Having taken the preliminary steps, the writer embarked at Marseilles, with high hopes of sunny skies and placid hours in which to meditate upon the ancient glories and misfortunes of the land of his pilgrimage, — to commiserate again the fate of Dido; to revere the stern virtue of the returning Regulus teaching those men of "Punic faith" the value of an oath; to stand by the family altar, and hear the youthful Hannibal vow eternal hatred to Rome; to repeat the soliloquy of Cato, as he holds before him his "bane and antidote;" or, passing to Christian times, to wonder at the rugged and fervid Tertullian, believing Scripture truths because they were impossible; to witness in imagination the martyrdom of Cyprian; and to dwell upon the work and words of the great author of the "City of God." But, alas! Neptune has no sympathy with historic dreamers. Scarcely had we passed Château d'If, before the *mistral* blowing behind, and an equinoctial gale in our path, dispelled all thought of pagan hero or Christian saint, save a feeble wondering how any of them ever lived to cross the Mediterranean sea.

"Incubuere mari, totumque e sedibus imis
Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus; et vastos volunt ad litora fluctus."

Once these were only words to be scanned; their realism now is something awful.

As we near the African coast, however, winds and waves become less violent, and we are able to apologize to ourselves for our journey by urging that it is this Africa — not Egypt, with her pyramids and mummies, or even her Origen and Athanasius, but this North Africa, with her Briton-reaching Carthaginians and her Augustine — which has more directly affected our Western world. Its glory has, indeed, departed, but so has the glory of Thebes and Alexandria. Crowds go thither to contemplate decaying grandeur; we will devote our pensive thoughts to life and death a little less remote. Had our journey been merely to “do” Algeria, our route would have been to the city of Algiers, whence, after some *détours*, we should have gone westward to Tangiers, and across to Spain. As it is, we land at Philipville, the port of Constantine. This city is the capital of the province of Constantine, the easternmost of the three French provinces of Algeria, embracing the territory of the ancient Roman province of Numidia. Here, and eastward in Tunis, once the realms of Carthage, erected into the Roman province of Africa, we shall find almost all which this region contains of historic interest.

At Philipville, a handsome mosque of white marble, with its inevitable minaret, reminds us that now for twelve centuries Africa has been Mohammedan. From A. D. 670, when Okba ben Nafi founded Kairawan and extended Mussulman sway to the Atlantic, down to within the memory of living men, Arian and Trinitarian alike have been trodden under; and “God is great, and Mohammed is his prophet,” has been the only North African confession of faith. As we leave this mosque in the distance and, in the clear, fresh morning, draw up among the hills, we seem to be at once in New England and “out West;” in New England, because of the green, rounded hills, so unlike the bare, white crags which we had seen in Provence; and “out West,” from the newness and crudeness of the little villages along the line of the railway, contrasting sharply with the venerable hamlets which we steamed through in Europe.

Constantine, some fifty miles from the coast, is a natural citadel, being an abrupt cliff rising on three sides to a sheer height of eight hundred feet out of a narrow ravine, over which a child might throw a stone. It is an ancient city, called Cirta before the days of Constantine, and has experienced many vicissitudes: among others having been besieged by Jugurtha, taken by the forces of Cæsar, and, lastly, captured by the French A. D. 1837. Entering the city by a fine bridge leading to the principal gate,

we wander at once to the Arab quarter to catch our first glimpse of Oriental life. Unlike most of the Europeanized cities of Algeria, Constantine still exhibits the life of the Moors, — that is, of the Arabs of the city — with its own local coloring. Eager to see it, we lose ourselves in the narrow, tortuous alleys, lined with their little shops, where the sitting merchant places his hand on almost every article which he offers for sale; where workmen, especially here leather workers, are stitching and hammering away, hardly out of the street; where painted and betinselled damsels invite the passing strangers to turn aside and be their guests; and where coffee-shops are a happy substitute for liquor-saloons. Let us seat ourselves in front of this café and be served a cup of nectar, or black gruel, as one may incline to call it, while we look out across this open space. Here is passing an Arab, draped in his burnous like the toga of a Roman senator; there a bare-headed Kabyle — a man of the indigenous Berber race — is bearing a leathern bottle of oil; now comes a donkey hardly bigger than the small boy driving him, followed by a tall negress selling bread, who deftly avoids the two camels and the Arab horseman, which, in the thickening crowd, were threatening to bear her down; here is a Moorish woman, with her blue veil, following closely a beautiful, light-haired young Jewess; there is a grave-looking Kadi, or judge, and, beyond, a group of Zouave-costumed soldiers, partly native and partly French, to suggest that the power which controls all is foreign, — the power which battered down yonder wall, and has since held the citadel. We extend our walk through an ancient low-browed gate and come upon an Arab market, outside the walls, which we remember as unspeakably squalid and repellent to every sense. But here, a little below the market, we first saw a Mussulman at his devotions. On a small, square platform of stone, evidently built with a view to the exact direction towards Mecca, he was bowing repeatedly and praying with all earnestness, but no more heeded by the throng than as if he were weighing out a sou's worth of figs.

In the environs of the city there are many places of historical interest. In one of our walks we just missed by a few steps, as we afterwards learned, seeing a Latin inscription commemorating a company of Christian martyrs, humble gardeners of the suburbs, who, in the persecution when Cyprian suffered, were here tortured for their faith, and soon afterwards executed at Lambasa. Not far away one sees, graven in the rock, in two places, *Linus fundi Sallustiani*, — “boundaries of Sallust's estate.” Sallust was made

prætor of Numidia by Cæsar, and it was here at Cirta that he extorted from the Numidians his enormous wealth, as well as collected the materials for his "Jugurthine War." Two miles from the city, on this side, was the ancient suburb of Mugæ, around which used to be parked innumerable flocks, and from which the cattle-market in Rome was named, showing that Cirta was once to Rome what Kansas City is to-day to New York. On the other side of the city, a little farther away, are the ruins of Arsacalitani, whose bishop (Servus) was exiled by Huneric, A. D. 484, for his attachment to the Catholic faith.

Reëntering the city, we visit one of the principal mosques, built some six hundred years ago, in the court of which are a few kneeling worshippers. The interior is divided into five aisles by rows of columns of irregular shapes and heights, most of which have evidently done service elsewhere, either in Christian churches or heathen temples. Two of these, however, seem to be in their original position, and are thought to have once supported a temple of Venus which stood upon this site. The citadel demands a visit, both from its military associations and for the fine views which it affords of the western environs. Another building of interest is the palace of the last dey, which has been compared by some visitors to the fairy-like dwellings described in the "Thousand and One Nights."

As we leave Constantine we note more carefully the topography of the country. All North Africa may be described as four alternating belts of mountains and plains running east and west, from the east coast of Tunis to the Atlantic. The first belt, extending fifty miles or more inland, is mountainous, rising often into lofty peaks, the Atlas mountains of our old geographies. Among these, however, are fertile valleys and some broad rich plains, making the region capable of supporting a large population. Succeeding this belt is a territory of about equal extent, which may be called the region of steppes. The rivers here, nowhere abundant, have, with the single exception of the Chelif, no outlet to the sea, but lose themselves in the arid soil or flow into salt lakes, which are full in the rainy season, but largely disappear under the burning sun of summer. This region was far more productive in the old Roman days than at present. The Arabs claim that the Christians whom they displaced were magicians, and that in revenge for the loss of their lands they caused the fountains in this part of the country to dry up. Certain it is that the wealth of these plains wasted away under the Moslem dominion, but whether

from natural causes or from a neglect of old systems of irrigation cannot be determined. But if Christian magic once dried up the waters, the arts of Christendom are now beginning to make amends. Already here and there we see artesian wells, whose waters are gladdening the soil and suggesting a possible restoration of the old fertility. Beyond this belt we reach the rocky *Tell* or second mountainous tract, one peak of which rises to seven thousand five hundred feet, upon whose summit we saw the glistening snow only a few hours after coming up out of the tropical gardens of the Sahara, which is the belt of country next to the southward.

Leaving the railway at Batna, we pursue our way toward the desert by *diligence*. After a long descent from the *Tell* and a winding through valleys, we at length break boldly through the last mountain barrier by what is known as the "Gate of the Sahara," a narrow defile, with abrupt and towering sides, through which flows a little river crossed by an ancient Roman bridge. The road by which we have come is a great government highway, built, as were the old Roman ways, for military purposes, and is a triumph of engineering skill worthy to compare with the best works of ancient days. We cannot, however, avoid some reflections upon the fleeting nature of French glory, as we see on the repairs added to this old bridge the legend "L. N." What will the Algeria of two thousand years hence know of Louis Napoleon?

We pass through the Herculean gateway and are in the Sahara. Alas for childish fancies! Who has not pictured the Sahara as one boundless level of sand, diversified only here and there, through all its limitless extent, by the bleaching bones of some luckless camel, or a slow winding caravan? We saw sand enough, saw the traditional camels' ribs by the roadside, saw the trains of laden camels with their Bedouin masters; but somehow we felt that our geography had made a mistake. True, El Kantara and Biskra are only in the edge of the Sahara, and perhaps that is why the desert here looks so much like other barren and desolate regions of the earth that do not put on the airs of a Sahara; possibly if we went a thousand miles further on we should again get back our boyish idea of a desert, but we fear that our faith in that old geography can never again be restored. Some consolation is afforded us, however, by the oases. El Kantara, which lies just within the pass, boasts of gardens which are very paradises of beauty and fruitfulness. Stately palm trees, oranges, figs, citrons, lemons, olives, apricots, delight the eye and satisfy all one's expectations of tropical luxuriance. Three little villages with ramparts and

houses built of mud afford us further glimpses of Arab life. Our guide, M'soud ben Bel Gassam, takes us to a donkey ride through villages and gardens, and out into the desert; and also to a Moorish coffee-shop to negotiate with the owner for a horse for the next day. I demand terms, and am asked how much I will give. I persist, and the owner names twenty francs, upon which I offer six. Nothing more can be said now until I dismount and have coffee. We enter a low, square room, with plain mud walls and floor of earth. A recess in one wall offers a kind of dais upon which, as the honored guest, I am placed. Opposite are guide and owner. Awaiting the coffee, we have a little philological chat, in which the proprietor assures me that the Arabic name of his saddle is *selle*, the same as the French; and while I do not believe it, I have to consent that he knows better than I. The coffee before us, I offer eight francs, and he responds fifteen. By this time a dozen Arabs are gathered, looking curiously at the stranger, who concludes to order coffee for the crowd. What an array of Arab names that treat produces! Hear the count for the reckoning: Hassan, one; Mohammed, two; M'soud, Ibrahim, Abd-Allah, Hafiz, Haroun, Saladin, Yussuf, etc., until all your old Arabian Nights names are exhausted. Nothing more distinctively Oriental could be experienced in the Sahara than that coffee-house treaty at El Kantara, unless it be the visit to the mosque of Sidi Okba, in the desert beyond Biskra. The route thither is through this large oasis, which rejoices in one hundred and forty thousand palm trees, and approaching which one meets great numbers of camels laden with dates, making their way northward, to return in time to the desert with wheat. Sidi Okba is the religious capital of this region, and is sacred in Mohammedan eyes as the place where Okba, the first Arab conqueror, suffered martyrdom, that is to say, was killed in open battle. The mosque erected over his tomb is the most ancient monument of Islamism in Algeria. Here one may enjoy the now rare privilege in Algiers of hearing the muezzin call the faithful to prayer from its tall, trembling minaret.

We must not leave the desert without passing thought of the proposed inland sea. Some fifty miles south of the Gate of the Sahara one reaches a large salt lake, one of a series occupying a natural basin which extends from the Gulf of Gabes on the east to Morocco on the west. It has been proposed to open a channel from the Mediterranean and make of this basin a great inland sea. There is little doubt but this enterprise might create for France a great realm of surpassing richness; but colonial aggrandizement

is not the *forte*, whatever may be the ambition, of the French people, and so long as the present resources of Algeria remain undeveloped, the prospects of the speedy transforming of a great desert into a garden are not flattering.

But now we must retrace our steps from the Sahara. We will also leave behind us the French and even the Arab civilizations, and confine ourselves for the most part to traces of the North Africa of Greek, Vandal, Roman, and Carthaginian rule. The Byzantine occupation, which lasted from A. D. 533 until the Arab conquest, was never complete, and left few external evidences of its occurrence. The Vandals, who were masters during the next preceding hundred years, were simply the enjoyers of other men's labors; they added nothing to the country, but were content with the material resources, as they were with the civil administration, prepared for them by the Romans. This Roman fabric, which it took centuries of Vandal barbarism, Byzantine effeminacy, and Arab fanaticism to efface, was once the pride even of the Eternal City. Though ancient Carthage had been finally destroyed B. C. 145, the Roman dominion in Africa was not thoroughly organized until the establishment of the empire. A hundred years later there had been large accessions of Italian colonists, and in Vespasian's time the province of Numidia alone had twelve Roman colonies and thirty-five enfranchised cities, besides other tributary cities. It was during the next two hundred years that the Roman power was at its best. Extensive public works were undertaken, great highways were built into the interior, and flourishing cities were founded far down toward and within the Sahara.

Coming up now from the desert we find one of these cities, the ancient Lambæsa. Here are seen imposing ruins scattered over an area of some two and a half square miles. A hundred years ago forty of the city gates were still standing, though only four are seen to-day. The city does not appear ever to have been destroyed by violence, but only by the gradual corrosions of time. Among the buildings now best preserved is the Pretorium, a large and handsome structure with walls almost intact, and a beautiful little temple to Esculapius, erected by command of Marcus Aurelius in the palmiest days of Africa. More than 1,400 inscriptions found here have been published, many of them bearing the name of the third Roman legion, which had its headquarters here during several centuries. One of the most interesting monuments of those old legionaries is the tomb of the prefect, Q. Flavius Maximus. Some years since the French colonel commanding the neighboring gar-

rison, finding this tomb in danger of falling, had it taken down stone by stone and rebuilt. Then, having piously replaced the ashes of the Roman general, he ordered out his troops, and caused them to defile before the tomb and salute it in memory of that old garrison which had preceded them here by so many centuries. In the third century Lambæsa was the home of Privatus, a bishop who was deposed by a synod of ninety of his brethren, and who afterwards, by ordaining Fortunatus, caused so much trouble to Cyprian.

From this point we can make our way northward by various routes. One to the left would take us by diligence to Setif and Bougie, and thence eastward by sea, by which route we should visit numerous ruins. Setifis is referred to by Augustine as the place where two hundred pagans, terrified by an earthquake, demanded immediate baptism. A short *détour* from this course would take us to Mila, the home of St. Optatus (A. D. 368), the writer against the Donatists. At Bougie one sees the foundations of a pagan temple which have been covered successively by a church, a mosque, and now again by a church. The difference between the Roman and the French occupations of Africa is here noted by the fact that there are now only four towns between Bougie and Algiers, where the Romans had twelve.

Our more direct route from Lambæsa, however, is to the eastward, leading through the ancient Verecunda to Mascula, the scene of a martyrdom under Genseric, and whose bishops played an important part in the struggles between the Donatists and the Catholics. Next we reach Theveste, which contains some of the finest Roman remains in Africa, notably a beautiful four faced triumphal arch of the reign of Septimius Severus. At this place a St. Maximilian suffered martyrdom.

And now at last we turn directly northward to the haunts of Augustine. How early the gospel was preached in Africa we do not know, but here were laid the foundations of Latin Christianity. At Rome so late as the third century the church was substantially Greek. But Christianity could not dominate the West without taking on the more practical administrative character of the Roman world. What was in the Orient a body of truth must become in the Occident a system of government. This could come about only as there appeared in the Church superior minds saturated with the Roman spirit. Singularly enough such men appeared first, not in Rome, but in one of her provinces. The capital was now too cosmopolitan to throb with the old spirit, but

in North Africa she had a dependency more Roman than herself. While, therefore, the leading men in the Roman church were still of the Greek type, and so incapable of adapting their faith to the Western people, the church of North Africa was producing veritable Latin leaders. Tertullian, foregoing pure theology, was grappling with anthropology and the doctrine of salvation, and so giving the key-note afterwards so grandly sounded by Augustine. Cyprian, the next Latin church leader, carried the Roman in him to an ideal expression. As bishop of Carthage he so organized the African church and so magnified the episcopal function as to make bishops often the rivals of prætors. But this early promise of leadership by the North African church was soon thwarted by the dissensions between the Catholics and the Donatists, and no great man appears again for above a century. The province of Numidia came to have one hundred and twenty-three Catholic bishops, and there were probably as many more Donatists, but few were men of prominence.

At last, however, comes a great man. Augustine, born A. D. 354, at Tagaste, was, from A. D. 395 to 430, bishop of Hippo, then the chief town of Numidia, or perhaps of Africa. Toward Tagaste we now journey. Before reaching the place we pass through the ancient Madaura, where Augustine attended school. The present name of Tagaste is Souk-Arras, which, though showing a few inscriptions, has little to remind us of her great son. That boy standing by yonder pear-tree is as suggestive as anything. Let us hope that, if he steals the pears, he will also become a bishop. We are now in the mountain region again, and the road to the coast leads over a divide which opens before us a panorama of unparalleled magnificence. In sixteen miles the railway makes a sharp descent of two thousand feet, and we sweep toward the sea with a rush which would have reminded Augustine of the armies of the Vandals.

Bona is a handsome French city, with edifices which would be fine in Paris; but we turn away to its southern suburb, and, crossing an ancient Roman bridge, are soon upon the slopes of a hill which was once the citadel of Hippo. Here is erected a monument to Saint Augustine, — a small bronze statue of himself, upon a pedestal of white marble. Near by are vast reservoirs, to which an ancient aqueduct brought water from the neighboring mountain. Scattered over the plain below are numerous ruins, but so far crumbled that they can only hint to us of the noble works of art and architecture of this once splendid city. Ascend-

ing the hill, upon the summit of which is now erecting a large Catholic charitable institution, we are shown various vestiges of ancient days, suggesting to us that this very enclosure — from which we carry away a piece of an old olive tree — may have been the garden of the great church father, where he sat and meditated upon the City of God. He died when the Vandals were thundering at the walls of the town. We can have no happier thought of his last hours than to picture him reclining here in some cloistered walk and looking off over the sea. To-day, as we gaze, the scene is literally enchanting. Our northern eyes have never seen such colors as glow upon the waters of the Gulf, sweeping away eastward to Cape Rosa, softer than mist, richer than the jeweled foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem. If the same scene unfolded before the dying saint, we can imagine him turning sadly from the last messenger from the walls, and from all the misery portending his beloved city, and losing himself in that far-spreading glory. To him it is the glory of God, and his soul goes out with one last cry: "O God, my Father, supremely good, Beauty of all things beautiful! With Thee will I fix my dwelling, for now I am tired out with vanities. To Thee will I intrust whatsoever I have received from Thee, so shall I lose nothing; and my decay shall bloom again, and all my diseases be healed. Thou madest me for thyself, and my heart is restless until it repose in Thee."

We sail away from Bona as from a spot where the temporal blends with the eternal. We skirt the shores of Utica, we wander amid the ruins of Carthage, trying to repeople the scene with the eager Tyrians whom Æneas saw, "busy as bees in summer," laying out streets and rearing the great edifices. But in vain! Nowhere else will the ages roll away. Africa to us means Augustine. But as we have traced back to him our New England faith, we will now trace his faith back to St. Paul. With this thought we embark for Malta.

George A. Jackson.

SWAMPSCOTT, MASS.

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY TOWN.

II.

THE first article with this title¹ was written without any thought of a second on the same topic. As was said then, the suggestions were made for the purpose of calling others into the study of a problem which seemed in danger of neglect or inadequate treatment. But the proofs of marked interest in the subject that have been given me since its publication have led me to comply with the request of the editors of the "Review" for a second article. This, however, will do little beyond giving confirmation to former positions, and adding some further suggestions which I cannot but think should receive serious consideration.

The magnitude of this problem of the country town, as it concerns the work of the church, must be taken into account. A note to the former article² intimated that the people in these country towns, who are practically beyond the reach of the churches, might be found, if a careful census could be taken, more numerous than the similar classes in our large cities. The whole number of people living in the cities of the United States having ten thousand or more inhabitants is officially known to be about one fifth of the entire population. Of this fifth, perhaps one half is all that can be safely put down as outside the actual reach of evangelistic work, — making one tenth of the whole population of the country of this class in these cities. A gentleman whose opinion on the point ought to be as good as that of any man gives an estimate of the probable numbers of such people in the entire country. In a private letter, from which I venture to make extracts, he says: "Taking the entire population into view, at least one third of the families lie beyond the reach of the ministry of the organized church." It is his opinion "that in New England four fifths could attend public worship if so disposed. And in the States east of the Mississippi, excluding New England, three fourths may be within comfortable access to church privileges. Beyond the Mississippi, south and west to the Pacific, possibly one fourth could reach some religious worship on the Sabbath if inclined to do so. As to the Northern States and territories west of New England and running to the Pacific, I would not venture to be

¹ *Andover Review*, August, 1884.

² *Ibid*, p. 124.

more explicit than to suggest one third as unreached." While my correspondent is careful to add that this is a mere estimate, the reasons given for it go to show that it is a very fair one.

On this estimate, we must conclude, then, that nearly one fourth of the population of the entire country live in the back neighborhoods of rural districts, into which the churches either put no work at all or in which they make only irregular efforts, and that this is easily double the neglected population of our large towns and cities, and quite surpasses the whole number of people living in cities. It is well, also, to remember that the country is contributing from these very people to the growth of the cities. Both the good and the bad grow up in the country. An Orestes A. Brownson and a Joseph Smith spent their youth in two back districts of the little town where I write. The early homes of Jacob Collamer and a Mormon apostle stand opposite each other in front of my study-window, in this village of only forty houses. And the list might be extended to include an astonishing number of notable instances. The productiveness of good and evil of these isolated neighborhoods or families is simply marvelous. The same number of people in them count for far more than those on the back streets of cities. The isolation of early life tends to develop forceful characters of all sorts.

The peculiar difficulties of the task of reaching this vast number of people account in some measure for their neglected condition, and at the same time they constitute a most serious element in the problem. Their separation by considerable distances from each other, the immobility, stolid indifference, or open hatred of religious things common among them, are serious obstacles to reformatory effort of almost all kinds. The enthusiasm of a band of Christian laborers dealing with masses of people in cities is lacking in the country. These people are full of an independent pride and the other evils of a provincial life; and, even worse, many of them have been, so to speak, differentiated out of our congregations. There is little sympathy between them and the people of the churches. And this is increased by the divisive spirit and activities and the congestive methods formerly described, which often disgust or alienate the irreligious, and constantly hold in check the aggressive movements of the church. Many a village pastor is himself securely tethered to the congregational idea of work. He dares not venture upon missionary effort lest he imperil his own flock or his tie to its fold. There are various devices for meeting the difficulty. The mission Sunday-school, the

neighborhood class or prayer-meeting, the Young Men's Christian Association, the special service of preaching, and the colporteur do much good; but their labors fail to cover the field, and in many older communities there has been a growing disuse of them. The concentration of population and Christian effort in larger centres absorbs most of our thought. The worldly-wise disciples are repeating the old attempt to persuade the Master to "send the multitudes away that they may go into the villages and buy themselves food."

Our present expenditures, I have intimated, do not meet the wants of these people. Let me quote again from my correspondent. "A few millions, — it may be three or four, — go out through the great union societies and by voluntary efforts to carry the bread of life to the one third. One hundred millions and more are expended annually in sustaining churches, schools, colleges, seminaries, and the whole machinery of evangelical propagandism." Even if we reduce the greater sum named and enlarge the smaller, the disparity is vastly too great. We must still agree with him when he says, "The provision made by the Christian people of the United States for reaching this churchless mass is sadly meagre as compared with the expenditure for the two thirds already compassed."

While holding to the great importance of the considerations presented in the former article, some further suggestions may now be made. One is that we begin at the beginning and make as thorough a scientific study of the subject as we can. The first thing to be done would seem to be to get at all the facts in the case and as to our resources, in the interests of what may be an almost purely scientific investigation. The statistical method will naturally be the first to be called into service. That would verify or correct such opinions as the one I have quoted. The whole matter should be taken as fast as possible out of the realm of guesswork, and put upon the basis of fact. There has been much valuable study by some of the denominational statisticians, and with highly respectable results, within their own distinctive fields, and from the denominational point of view. And these gentlemen deserve hearty praise. But that work which will cover the field as one whole, and give us all the facts, their relation to each other and to an economically and wisely managed whole, remains practically untouched. Denominational inquiry has often seemed careful to avoid it for the most part. Our State Home Missionary Societies hold on in the old way. In the older States, the four

or five leading denominations are each putting from fifty to two hundred dollars apiece into from one to four or five score of little churches, two or more of which are often found in the same little village or very near each other. If these several denominations could forego their usual statistics for a year, and instead expend a few thousand dollars on the field as a unit, in an investigation conducted solely in the interests of a scientific study of the problem of its evangelization in the most efficient and economical way, we should doubtless get a vast deal of the most useful — not to say astonishing — information. It might be well to employ an expert in statistical inquiry, whose work has kept his mind as free as possible from ecclesiastical and even religious bias. A single State, — or better, a half dozen, like New England, — should be made the subject of such an investigation very soon. This survey of the present condition of the ground may be forced upon us at no distant period by the growing reluctance of the keen-sighted men of business to give money to keep up the old, wasteful methods which business has discarded. And a general knowledge of the facts would greatly hasten the remedy of existing evils.¹

But this should go beyond counting the people, the churches, their officers, and annual expenses. It should aim to get at the facts in regard to their whole condition and attitude toward Christianity. Many of these people have more or less religious life. Its extent and character, its limitations, manifestations, and aspirations ought to be studied carefully. The character and ideas of the Christian people scattered among the outlying populations have a powerful though often indirect influence over others. And this critical study, I am convinced, is especially needed in respect to the condition of the irreligious. Not only their habits in morals and outward conduct towards religious forms need attention, but their whole attitude towards Christianity will repay thorough investigation. Their conceptions of God and religion, of the Bible, of Christianity and its aims, of the doctrines of prayer and faith, of Christian experience, of the kingdom of God and its places and times of realization, of the church and its work, — and

¹ It would seem desirable that some man of wealth should be moved to provide the means for a thorough investigation of this subject. Possibly some of our theological seminaries might be supplied with funds to prosecute, from time to time, in a scientific manner, this and similar studies in applied Christian polity.

Since the first part of this note was written, I have learned that at least one of the Congregational State Home Missionary Societies has made a beginning in just the direction I have suggested. It is probably, however, less comprehensive than the case requires.

how they came by them, — require particular study. The pastor often gets, as most well know, very imperfect information on these points. Even the most earnest and sympathetic lay worker frequently fails to penetrate the inner life of these people. Either his professional method and spirit or his lack of training in the methods of scientific inquiry, or both, put him at a great disadvantage.

The church itself needs to know how strongly rooted in the minds of her neglected populations are the prejudices, the misconceptions and the travesties of Christian truth and life which filled the minds of some of the fathers and linger in the children to the third and fourth generations, where these have not gone down into sheer materialism. Nothing needs more study than the divorce in the minds of the unchurched between the true work of the Christian religion and their actual thought of it. And for such a study the dogmatic mind is unfitted, though it has too often been the one that has attacked the subject. On these practical questions of applied Christianity which are entangled with traditional theologies, ecclesiastical fictions, and intricate social changes, the work of a scientific expert in statistical investigation, whose mind is at the farthest possible distance from the ecclesiastical or even religious bias, would seem invaluable. The case seems to call for a more thorough use of the inductive method in many ways.

The probability that the defects of the church itself in doing its work, as suggested above and elsewhere, have had a serious part in bringing about the apathy of those outside her present grasp should also give force and direction to the inquiry. Some of the heaviest and yet most helpful work the church has had to take up has been forced upon her in the necessity she has been under of meeting the results of her own misdirected efforts. Every one knows the truth of this in reference to theology and natural science; but it needs more general recognition in respect of matters concerning social life, which bid fair to bring us the most urgent of problems. The religious, the educational, and the industrial tendencies of the times have all favored a common method of securing their aims, through the collection of human beings into assembled bodies. The church, the school, the factory, are representative of it. We get the mass and the individual as one part of the result. For another, a practical suppression of the intermediary institutions or forces follows, together with the presence of a large class who, failing to come into the range of these corporate forms of activity, are relatively the worse for the growth of them. The industrial movement is the most recent of the three,

though we are told that apparently impending discoveries in the applications of electricity may reverse the tendency, restoring domestic industries or developing them in fresh forms. The church has, it seems to me, when condescending to turn at all from traditional and dogmatic theories of work, been quick to catch the spirit and the more petty methods of the industrial world, rather than conscious of her own high calling to a mastery over them through a better understanding of her own methods of work and the basis on which they rest for support and defense.

This brings us to another suggestion. The scientific method of dealing with the problem will very likely lead to a more thorough application of the comparative and historical methods to some fundamental questions of ecclesiastical polity that bear directly upon it. We have hitherto approached this problem mainly with the *a priori* conclusions of our various ecclesiastical polities, which denominational zeal has said must solve the difficulty through propagation of the true system and a trust to the survival of the fittest for the result. Favorite theories of church organization and work are pushed on the ground of their Biblical or historical origin, and have acquired a sacredness that seems to forbid any surrender or change. They remind one in their methods of some of the systems of Christian ethics which, in their aim to escape the trammels of an unchristian philosophy, give the reader a suspicion that a system of doctrine and polity has been put in place of the rejected philosophy. Our theology, men say, has developed for us a given polity, and we must, therefore, press it into the largest use, on peril of endangering the most cherished religious convictions.

It will be surprising if the solution of this problem of our atomic church life and the novel questions which modern society presents does not, sooner or later, raise serious doubts as to the absolute finality of some generally accepted claims in the dogmas of the polities. Some unexpected demands for the reconciliation of our theories of the church and of churches to the facts of society may be heard from without that will have to be met honestly and completely. More correct views of the structure of society may call for some revision of our theories of the Scriptural idea of the church and its methods of work. Geology has already done this in regard to the material world; sociology may do it in respect to those who live on it. Human society has but recently come under the examination of science. Science may force upon the Christian mind truths that the Sacred Scriptures have not yet been permitted to suggest, but which only wait the touch of Christian thought,

under the incentive of human need, to perceive and apply. We must remember here that all truth is the thought of God, and that the Divine Spirit is ever quickening the natural into its fuller possibilities in order that it may serve the purposes of the supernatural. As Archbishop Trench long ago pointed out, we miss much of the meaning of the miracles of Christ if we fail to see the divine thought and power that was in them repeated and developed in the discoveries and inventions of modern times. It is hardly a question if large numbers of the church are not quite in ignorance of the breadth of the work which that marvelous phrase — the kingdom of God — includes, and intimates to be far beyond the petty ideas most of us have of it. The Christian scholar and preacher of the gospel forgets that it is, as Canon Fremantle had put it, in our Lord himself that we find in its purest form the combination of critical thought with pastoral activity, and that He never was content to leave things as He found them. Surely there is enough in the demands of our needy populations, and in the evident insufficiency of our present methods of reaching them, to make us welcome the investigation and be hospitable to its suggestions.

The critical and historical examination of the Scriptures now going on may also help us to a better view of these things. It may carry us beyond theological problems, so called, to those of polity and practical work. This very mastery of our Lord over the life and the institutions He found is instructive. Who can point us to the Scriptural authority for the Jewish synagogue He met and used, and which became the prototype, and in some sense the germ, of the church of the early Christians? Yet we find Jesus honoring it with his habitual presence and observance of its forms. But when lack of sympathy or the demands of missionary work compelled, He as readily did his work outside. The Holy Spirit led the Apostles to apply the same principle. If Providence brought Peter a devout Roman, the Apostle was divinely prepared to see that it meant an enlargement of his former theory of the church. Saint Paul was continually shaping his thought and action to the higher truths and the larger methods which the facts of life brought to a soul continually growing towards full Christian freedom. The early churches undoubtedly borrowed freely from the Jewish synagogue; but this was not done because they could point to the divine origin and inspired order of that institution. It seems rather like a ready use which God always makes of the historical, with the freest resort to the fresh suggestions of the natural for correction and improvement. But to take these free natural methods and instrumentalities of the early church and

harden them into the rigorous forms of an absolute sameness is to forget history. It is to have used the Bible to small purpose. It perpetuates the very leaven of Judaic Christianity which Paul so earnestly opposed. Ecclesiasticism has always been one of the worst forms of the Judaizing spirit, and we may seriously ask ourselves how far the New England and America of to-day is afflicted with the essentials of the old synagogueism that met Christ and the early church with its mingled helps and hindrances, and what needs doing that we may escape from its perils into that fuller life of Christian freedom to which He continually calls his people.

We are frequently misled by our partial apprehensions of that which is designed to become as complete as the divine fullness of which it is the manifestation. Wise men trembled for the church when Luther seemed bent on the destruction of the church as they knew it. That fear has passed away. They doubted modern missions, but they have ceased doubting. The Sunday-school has won its way to almost the largest place in the churches of our times; yet it is no exact reproduction of any Scriptural institution. The modern prayer-meeting forced itself into general use. Moody and the work he represents have been deeply distrusted; and Woman has come into her larger place in the church against serious apprehensions. There is danger everywhere of forgetting that the wisdom that first selects forms and carries them to the highest usefulness may be just as divine in a later change of them for the newer freedom to which the life of the spirit is ever and anon calling. The early church, to take an example of methods, took the world as it had been divinely prepared for its use and work, entered the cities, and worked along the great highways of the Roman Empire, where the old religion had relaxed its hold the most. Its choice was a practical necessity. But we may or may not copy that method, for Christianity never did more lasting work than when it went into the country and fastened its truths in the Germanic tribes. So we take the world which the providence of God has made ready for us. The recovery of the waste places of a Christian civilization at the close of the nineteenth century presents a far different problem than that of a spent heathenism in the beginning of the Christian era. We may best imitate early Christian wisdom by refusing the slavish methods of Chinese art.

The science of human society, now opening its treasures of knowledge and experience, will very likely bring much aid to the interpretation of the kingdom of God, which, in its earthly relations, is only another term for the realization of the divine ideal

of society. No other science apparently stands in closer relations to the work of Christianity. Nowhere else should we expect beforehand profounder disturbances at the first conflict of the two, or greater triumphs of faith in their final harmony. Early Christianity used the family effectively, but yet crudely, and it may be in a somewhat elementary way. Its experience with the nation is certainly not the unvarying success of absolute truth. But the modern church has before it the researches of historical study and scientific inquiry in various other directions, and also the larger life of modern times on which to put its hand, both in respect to the family and the nation. Hitherto Christianity has perforce wrought in this country along the line of the individual, and within the narrower bonds of ecclesiasticism in its many denominations, its local churches and benevolent societies, which its escape from a state church has seemed to make necessary for a time. But now the fitting moment for better things seems to draw nigh. More strictly within the church, evangelical alliances and the common study of the Sacred Scriptures urge us on towards unity and strength. Without, science — itself an instrument of God — is bringing agencies for doing work, and also new work to be done, while the hot rush of modern life crowds upon us, calling for that practical Christianity which, more than anything else, makes our religion a living reality.

Human experience and science constantly give added justification to the idea of a kingdom of God. But Christians must learn to give reality to their own cherished opinions of it. To Americans it may well be "the Republic of God." If science grows more Christian, Christianity is also growing more scientific. If, therefore, we learn from science that the organic element of society is a larger, more positive force than we have supposed; if we discover that the compact and wisely organized fundamental groups go far to make nations; if we get clearer ideas of the place of the family in the actual work of building the social fabric, we do well, as Christians who are intent upon the realization of the kingdom of God on earth, to hasten on to know the truths social science may tell us. For the great thing is to get Him as He is and men as they are together in one conscious life.

There is one force already existing in these country towns in common with the cities, waiting for the surer grasp of an enlightened, earnest church to give it new power. That is the family. But its treatment requires an entire article by itself.

Samuel W. Dike.

ROYALTON, VT.

EDITORIAL.

TRADITION, CRITICISM, AND SCIENCE.

WE call this a scientific age ; often, perhaps, without realizing all that our words imply. We do not exhaust their meaning when we say that the various natural sciences have been cultivated with a zeal and a success hitherto unparalleled. Behind all pursuit and attainment is the more significant fact, the scientific impulse. Other ages have been as eager for learning, but never one with such an insatiable craving for knowledge. Other ages have been distinguished by more acute and original thinking, by greater gifts of creative imagination in art and letters. There have been more heroic, more ideal ages, but never an age that was so resolute to grasp the reality of things.

This impulse is by no means confined to men whose lives are devoted to the study of nature. The studies of man — the social and historical sciences — have been no less stimulated by it.

Not less characteristic of our age than its passion for reality is its grasp on the idea of scientific method. Men have learned not to grope about blindly if haply they may stumble on the truth ; not to guess ingeniously, and piece guesses together in theories and philosophies ; but to observe facts with an attention which nothing escapes, to which nothing is insignificant, to explore widely, to register accurately, to compare carefully, to construct hypotheses, to test, correct, verify, or abandon them as the facts command. This method has done far more than make possible, and then actual, the immense advances of physical science. It has transformed the habits of thinking, the unconscious logic of our whole generation. Philosophy and theology have not been able to exclude this indirect influence of physical studies. History has been made, by the application of the scientific method, a new creature — a science as truly as biology or meteorology.

The old idea of history was a mere deposit of tradition. Each generation received from that before it what it knew of the past, added to it the record of its own doings, and handed it down to its successor. But every generation also modified what passed through it. It had to tell the story in its own way. The game called Russian Scandal — not to speak of more serious things — gives a very instructive illustration of the inability of men in the average to tell a plain tale as it was told to them. Time does its work too. The memory of remoter ages grows dim and vague ; only the great features stand out in misty grandeur. On the other hand, as if in revenge upon time, imagination fills up the picture with new detail. Often tradition becomes the more positive and definite the farther it gets from the facts. One other characteristic of tradition is to be mentioned, one which it is of the greatest consequence to recognize : It is, that tradition has no idea of development. What has

come down from the past is looked upon not as the accumulated result of the experiences, thoughts, labors of many successive generations, not as a growth, which under its two laws of continuity and development has been in all generations one, and yet in no two generations the same, but as the completed work of one first creative mind or age, passively transmitted by all the intervening centuries. Its conception of the becoming of things is mechanical, not natural; its only idea of a creative process is manufacture. As a consequence tradition is always transferring the present into the past, and ascribing immemorial antiquity to the things of yesterday. A work like the Apostolic Constitutions is an instructive illustration of this inveterate tendency of tradition to invert history; to put its *facit* at its beginning. We are wrong when we impute bad faith, or even *pia fraus*, to those who put together such a work; they simply could not imagine that what is, and above all what is sacred, has not always been. They could not trust the Master's test of institutions as of men: "By their fruits ye shall know them." They substituted theirs: "By their roots ye shall know them."

With history written as it used to be — the more or less skillful literary use of the deposit of tradition — we cannot satisfy ourselves. We do not undervalue tradition; without it we should know nothing. But we want so to deal with the material it offers us as by means of the tradition to know more than the tradition; to analyze the complex of social and political institutions, customs, laws, which we find at the end, and which tradition often puts at the beginning of the history; and to trace, first upward, then downward, the line of development, the history itself, its substance and reality. For the one end of science is reality. Its one aim is at all cost of labor and feeling to know and to tell the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth. Let us emphasize the last point.

We often make ourselves easy with our superfluities of belief. They have come down from a cherished past, tender and reverent sentiments cling to them, plead for them. Men feel a sort of resentment when you take away their faith in William Tell, or Arthur and his Table Round. The world is poorer for every myth which you dissolve into sunshine or moonshine.

Love of being let alone makes a stand for what we have been taught. It is easier to ignore the Homeric controversy, or to smile the scornful smile of self-satisfied ignorance, than to follow patiently through the cumulative arguments by which modern scholarship has, whatever we may say of its positive results, made the old notion of the unity of the Homeric poems as untenable as faith in the genuineness of the Isidorian decretals. Poetic sentiment too is prone, somewhat impatiently, to say its word for the past — at least the poetic sentiment which prefers the beautiful to the true. On the Homeric question we find ourselves inclining to the side of Schiller rather than of the greater Goethe.

But the excesses of belief, what are they but superstitions, — *Aberglaube*, to use a word almost naturalized among us?

We are no nearer the truth when we believe what is not true than when we disbelieve what is true; nor are we in a more hopeful state of mind to find the truth. Science insists on absolute truthfulness — on “nothing but the truth,” as much as on “the whole truth.”

The way by which this end is to be reached, the scientific method in historical studies, is criticism.

We hold in our hands an ancient historical document. Before we can with confidence use it as a source of knowledge for the history of the times of which it treats two things are necessary. The first is to eliminate from the text the errors which have crept in in the course of transmission by written copies or printed editions, to restore the text to the oldest attainable form, to get as near as we can to the very words of the autograph. This is the work of Textual Criticism, or, as it is sometimes called, the Lower Criticism. But when we have thus satisfied ourselves that we have before us just what the author said, a new series of questions arises. Is the book in one piece, or has it a composite character? Who wrote it? When? Where? For whom? For what purpose? Was the author a witness of the things he describes? Does he write of his own knowledge, or is he dependent on others? If he has got his information from other sources, what were they? Were they competent and credible witnesses? How has the author used his sources? Then, what is the character of the work itself? Does it bear the internal marks of trustworthiness, or the opposite? Does it agree with, supplement, or contradict other credible accounts of the same period?

In answering many of these questions we are able to avail ourselves of both external and internal evidence. The distinctness of the testimony, the clearness of the internal evidences, the agreement or dissent of the two kinds of evidence, determines the degree of certainty attainable in the result.

Questions of this kind must often be asked, not only in regard to whole books, but to the parts of which they are made up, to single passages or statements.

To ask, and as far as possible to answer, these questions is the business of historical and literary criticism, or, as it is often called, the Higher Criticism. It is not a new invention any more than the method of induction in the physical sciences is new, though in the one case as in the other the method has never been applied so generally, or so systematically, as in our day; never used with so many precautions and with so much skill.

The Ancient Church affords one very famous example of the Higher Criticism in the letter of Julius Africanus to Origen about the genuineness of the Susannah episode in the Greek Book of Daniel. He shows that while the Book of Daniel was written in Hebrew, this story must have been originally composed in Greek. He argues this not only from the style in general, but especially from a paronomasia — σχῆμα — σχισθήναι; πρίνον — πρίσαν. These are bad Greek puns, which have no

parallel in Hebrew. They are the very hinge of the *denouement*, and could not therefore have been worked in by a translator. The Jews, as is well known, reject this chapter as apocryphal. Further, he points out the improbabilities of the story; the contradiction between the conditions it supposes and all we know of the circumstances of the Jews in the Exile at that time.

Nothing could be sounder and more conclusive; and the long and labored defense which Origen makes of Susannah and the companion pieces (Bel and the Dragon, Song of the Children) only fully shows how strong the case is against them. The most forcible of his arguments is one still in vogue *per deducens ad familiare inconveniens*, namely, "if you go so far you will have to go a great deal farther."

In the famous Phalaris controversy Bentley won a never-to-be forgotten victory for the Higher Criticism. No alliance of learning, wit, and literary art could maintain the cause of tradition against the weapons with which the great critic made war.

The application of critical methods has transformed all our ideas of ancient history.

To see what it has done one may compare Rollin with Ranke. The distance between the traditional history of Rome, for example, and a scientific history is immeasurable. It is not due so much to the discovery of new sources as to the critical use of the common material, which has always been in the historian's hands. No science can point to more splendid achievements in this century of magnificent accomplishment than historical criticism.

We have dwelt at some length upon the true character and aim of historical criticism because just now it is often imagined to be a peculiar weapon which the enemies of truth and righteousness have forged to assail the Bible with. A religious journal of considerable circulation has recently described the Higher Criticism as a curious compound of rationalism and mysticism, which claims the right to reject everything in the Bible which does not conform to its notions of History, Philology, and Philosophy, or to its inner consciousness.

As to the first it is only necessary to say that historical criticism is the sworn foe of rationalism in every form; that in fact it is historical criticism — not a revival of traditionalism, not supernaturalism, which is itself merely a type of rationalism — which has driven rationalism off the field of Biblical history beaten, discredited, abandoned. And as for Christian consciousness, the critic has no private tests of truth; he is not a sophist; he does not make either his reason or his conscience, or his religious consciousness, the measure of all things. He is a seeker of Truth; of historical truth by the methods of historical science.

Neither this quest of truth nor this method of research is peculiar to any theological stand-point or school. It is an insolent assumption, or an ignorant blunder, which gives the name "Higher Criticism" to the theories of any particular man or school.

When Professor Green defends against Robertson Smith the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, or when Dr. Kay or Mr. Cobb maintains the unity of Isaiah against the *χορίζοντες*, these defenses are not appeals from criticism to tradition or dogmatics, they are pieces of historical criticism; it is only as such that they have any conviction in them.

The Higher Criticism, then, is not confined to the Bible, nor to those who are so freely called the enemies of our Bible. What is true is, that the methods which have done so much for the history of other times and races are to be applied to the history of the people and of the religion of Israel, and to the beginnings of Christianity.

It cannot well be maintained that the application of the methods of critical science to the historical documents contained in the Bible is illegitimate, unless a man can show that the methods are *per se* illegitimate, or that religion is not a historical phenomenon. It is only a question of its legitimate application. There is, we need hardly say, sound and unsound criticism; rash and sober criticism; there is criticism which is true to its principles, and there is criticism which secretly, perhaps unconsciously, smuggles in rationalistic or dogmatic presumptions which would invalidate the results even if they left them unchanged. This is the real difference. We hear much indeed of reverent and irreverent criticism; but all that we need demand, and we must insist upon this, is that criticism shall be rigidly scientific.

We may regret that the Bible must thus become the field of a critical controversy, though it can really be no worse than the controversies about doctrine and polity which have been fought back and forth over it for so many centuries. After all, controversy, which is a trial of error on a large scale, is the way by which Truth is established.

But whatever may be our feelings, the controversy is inevitable; it has in fact already begun. Agreement, even relative agreement, cannot be reached again by rushing back in a panic into the arms of tradition, but only by the freest and most thorough discussion by men of all schools, who, differing widely as they may in the outset or in the end, have yet one spirit and one aim, — the determination, by God's help, to know the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth.

The first work of criticism standing face to face with the volume of tradition is of necessity negative. It has to eliminate the untrue and the uncertain in order that the things which cannot be shaken may remain. Its word is, prove all things, hold fast that which is good. In so doing it has often to meet with downright denial the most confident assertions, — assertions supported by the greatest weight of authority. For example, the Protestant theologians of the seventeenth century agree in declaring most circumstantially that the collection of the Old Testament books was made and the Old Testament canon established by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue; that is, a sort of council which Ezra called into being for this and like works. They can tell us the number of its members, and some of their names. They appeal to absolutely

consentient Jewish tradition. "It is," writes Hottinger, "a principle hitherto unquestioned among Christians as well as Jews that the canon of the Old Testament was settled by divine authority, once for all, by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue." Buxtorf, the greatest rabbinical scholar among Christians, was equally positive, and his great authority carried everything before it. But we cannot acquit our conscience by citing Buxtorf. We may not have his enormous rabbinical erudition, but we can verify his references. We will examine the Jewish tradition. To our surprise we find the men of the great synagogue first named in a Haggadic tract in the Mishna, from the second century after Christ, at as long a remove from Ezra's time as we are from Wiclif's. But there is not in the *Pirke Aboth* nor in the whole Talmud a word about the labors of the great synagogue in fixing the canon of Scripture. The commentators on the Talmud know nothing of this "tradition;" the great Jewish Bible commentators know nothing of it; at the most it may be said that they sometimes seem to take for granted that the men of the great synagogue had the completed collection in their hands. Where, then, did the story originate? We can put our finger on the page in the third preface to Elias Levita's "*Massoreth ha-Massoreth*," a work written in 1538, where it first saw the light. So we have at the end a negative result. In spite of all the positiveness of Buxtorf and his followers, there is no Jewish tradition which ascribes to Ezra and his colleagues the making of the canon.

Criticism has much such work to do. From the fact that it must so often deny what has been long and confidently taught, it is sometimes opprobriously stamped negative or destructive criticism. But the refiner does not put his gold in the fire to destroy it; he does it because he knows that it will stand the fire, and the base metal will not. The aim of criticism is not doubt, but certainty; not denial, but affirmation. Construction is the proper work of the historian, and the true critic will never forget it.

But it may be asked, are not the disagreements of critics a proof that this boasted scientific method is worthless or false?

By no means. We surely do not consider the disagreements of naturalists to prove that there is no real natural science, or of exegetes or dogmatists that exegesis and dogmatics are worthless. Disagreement may mean that the data are insufficient or have been insufficiently explored; it may mean that the critics have followed a false path, mistaken a clew. Science does not pretend to inerrancy, and its reality and right to be are not brought in question by the discovery of its errors. Every error discovered is a step nearer to the truth.

Tradition, criticism, and science—we have thus considered them in their relation to one another. But what of faith? Is not faith put in peril by all these questions?

We answer that faith does not rest on tradition,—that is the root of Protestantism; no more does it rest on science. It stands not in the

word or the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. It is invincible in its reality.

Two things criticism cannot assail, for they are not within its field. One is, the inspiration of the Scriptures; that is, not merely that they *were* inspired, but that they *are* inspired; that here are His words, which are spirit and which are life. The other is the necessary correlate of inspiration, the immediateness of religious experience. There we stand secure.

But criticism starts doubts, unsettles opinions. Yes; but is that always evil? If the thing we have believed is uncertain, doubt is a virtue, — a form of truthfulness; if the opinion we have been taught is false, denial is only common honesty. Is doubt worse than error?

The truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth! Truth has nothing to fear from men who seek it in that spirit; and if we fear for it, that is our lack of faith. The truth is not to-day half as often imperiled even by the aberrations of criticism as by the untruthful defenses by which it is often dishonored, — what Reuss has well described as the "*Apologétique du salon dont les arguments de convention, alignés par des gens qui ne connaissent ni l'histoire ni la philosophie, sont bien propres à tranquilliser des âmes qui ont plus de peur du doute que de l'erreur.*"

THE CONCENTRATION OF RELIGIOUS INTEREST.

THE next few weeks bring around those occasions when the churches engage with more deliberation and concurrence than at other seasons in promoting spiritual interests. The week of prayer at the beginning of the year has a recognized place in the great majority of non-liturgical churches, and before the winter ends the liturgical churches will be earnestly engaged in the observance of Lent. It is, therefore, a suitable time to offer suggestions on the propriety and the methods of attempting to concentrate religious interest.

It is as useless as it is foolish to ignore the fact that a law of periodicity obtains in the growth of Christ's kingdom. It is no more surprising that there should be seasons of heightened religious zeal, separated by periods of quietness, than that there should be rising and ebbing tides of political interest, or alternations of activity and of quietness in business. For some purposes men complete the circle of endeavor in days or weeks, but for other purposes a year is necessary, while, in some relations, the orbit does not accomplish its return till several years have passed. All this is as true in religious as in secular and social life. However different the ends in view, human nature is much the same in respect of methods and habits.

Many a minister, especially at the beginning, believes that the ideal state of things is a quiet, steady, unostentatious religious interest, and that the growth of a church, to be healthy, should be gradual. He is, therefore, suspicious of periodical, or as he is likely to call them, spas-

modic attempts to quicken religious zeal. But experience usually shows that there are tides of the spirit, that the various objects of Christian endeavor have their seasons, and that it is the part of wisdom to use rather than to ignore the great changes which pass over a community under the influences of the gospel.

The church should adapt itself to men as they are, it should avail itself of natural tendencies. When there is comparative leisure, when people are not scattered, but at home, when it is easiest to gather them in public meetings, is the time to concentrate effort for the deepening of spiritual consecration, and for the conversion of sinners to God. This is not to make religion wait on the convenience of men. It is to embrace opportunities when they arise. It is to recognize the several phases of Christian work, and to fit them to their seasons. It is more than legitimate, then, it is highly important, that ministers and churches should make plans for earnest and combined effort at this season. At a time which has so often proved favorable to such results there should be intelligent expectation of conversions and of advance in spirituality. Reaction against revivals has become extreme. To "get up" a revival, laying emphasis on the externals, the mechanical side, does indeed give occasion for reproach. But the churches are sufficiently guarded against excesses and abuses, and may feel safe in making the most earnest efforts to invite the gracious, tender work of the Spirit.

There is this singular fact, that the same conditions do not invariably give the same results. Even the most earnest and serious expectations are disappointed, while at other times, apparently with less spirituality and zeal, visible effects follow. This is only saying, however, that the movements of God's Spirit are so profound that we cannot measure nor anticipate them fully. The times and seasons are not absolutely in our power.

In view of this law of periodicity in spiritual things, a few definite suggestions may be found helpful.

Let the pastor place his regular visitations through the parish at other seasons of the year, so that he may have his time free now for public and personal religious work. He may postpone his regular pastoral work to the spring and autumn, and have his energies now for direct effort.

Let his preaching for several Sundays be addressed to personal thought and feeling. He may come in from the outer and wider circuits of preaching. The general relations of the gospel to society, the charities and missions, the indirect and the argumentative preaching, may give way now to closer approaches upon persons. He may come in contact with sense of need, of unrest, of dissatisfaction, of self-reproach. He may address his people pretty directly on the side of duty, of neglect, of suppressed longing after holy living, of repentance, and of faith. The preacher who is eager to draw men out of sin and worldliness into Christian life, can find those truths of the gospel which appeal to that which is deepest. He can make his way within the inner, almost sacred, realm

of personal need and duty. At this season he may well endeavor, on this side and that, to make the gospel influential with the interior life of men.

Let him try to preach now in such a way that God in Christ shall be real. With such seriousness and tenderness as he may be able to infuse let him present the living Christ to the living soul. He may attempt to preach so that the impression left will be, not of theories or doctrines, but of the personal Christ in his immediate relation to men, so that thoughtful hearers will recognize in such a thought of Christ that which corresponds to their own felt need, and so that they will be conscious of an impulse to venture out on Christ. At all times, in greater or less degree, this is the preacher's function. But when circumstances favor responsiveness he may address himself earnestly to a realistic presentation of the Redeemer and Master of men.

It may be well, also, to bring about a more intelligent thought of the workings of the Holy Spirit, to show people that the very feelings and desires they are conscious of and which seem to be their own, are identical with those awakened by the Spirit of God. Interpretation of this sort has surprised many a person with the discovery that he is already under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

It is important that people should be brought together frequently in religious meetings. Much is gained by directing the thoughts of the church towards the desired end simultaneously and repeatedly. The continuity of frequent repetition deepens impressions which might otherwise be lost. Christians may properly be expected and asked to plan for attendance on such meetings, to subject themselves, if need be, to temporary inconvenience for the sake of concentrating religious effort. The principal advantage of the observance of Lent is the daily meeting for prayer and appropriate reflection. The services are frequent enough to continue and deepen impression. As to the times and places of meeting, much depends on the occupations and habits of the community. Sometimes it is well to choose an unusual hour,—in some places to choose the twilight hour of short winter afternoons. There is a church in a busy city which has chosen for several years the hour from five to six o'clock, because many can take the meeting on the way home who could not come in the evening. More than once these meetings, always led by the pastor, have acquired enough momentum to run on three, four, or five weeks, and with the happiest results.

The attempt should be made to individualize effort judiciously, to give such direction to meetings that friend shall feel responsible for friend, that prayer and suggestion shall point towards personal service for such as are not the followers of Christ.

When the methods chosen are not satisfactory, the leading of the spirit may be towards a change of method.

Nothing requires more careful judgment than making the transition from marked interest back again to ordinary methods. Serious harm

may come from continuing too long in one line of endeavor. Nothing is so sensitive as religious feeling. Ordinarily when signs of abatement appear it is best to relax the demand for special effort, and particularly not to continue meetings which encroach upon the duties of business and home. It is not well to have the end of meetings bring a sense of relief.

In general, ministers and churches should make the outward means as simple and unobtrusive as possible, but should keep the object clearly in view.

A caution is needed. The most earnest efforts and the most careful methods sometimes seem to be barren of results. There are few, if any, conversions, and but little glow of feeling. In such cases there should not be sense of discouragement. The law of periodicity does not always, nor perhaps usually, confine itself to an annual movement. Three, four, five years may intervene between revivals in a church. Besides, much of that steady growth which characterizes many churches is due to the annual seasons of prayer. Preparation for future success is thus secured. Decisions made long afterwards are associated with impressions received at such times and deepened subsequently.

May all conflicts of opinion concerning the gospel serve the purpose of making more real and near the personal Redeemer and Head. May his ministers and churches hold his gospel with simplicity and enlarging faith. May He in whom we all are one be so manifestly present in his churches that all believers will find themselves keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. And may the gospel have power and prevail.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

The surprising news that Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill was passed by the House of Lords through a compromise effected with Lord Salisbury has led more than one English journalist to remark upon the growing power of the Premier of England. It has been known all along that the bill was essentially of Mr. Gladstone's creation, and now it is equally well understood that in inducing the Lords to pass it by making important concessions instead of defying them, and fighting the battle through if they continued recalcitrant, he has followed his own judgment rather than the wishes of the bulk of his party. The reflection naturally follows, "the Premier dominates the nation." It is felt and said that he could not so control affairs unless he were a man of extraordinary power. But it is not felt that his gifts have achieved more than rightly belongs to the office which he fills. The "Spectator," on the contrary, goes so far as to say that within twenty-five years the Premiership has acquired a distinctly new influence; that it has been for some time a patent fact in English politics that the Premier is not merely the leading member of the Cabinet, but a force overtopping the Cabinet and visibly controlling. It may be presumed that this recognized and recently so strikingly illus-

trated feature of English political life will continue to exist long after Mr. Gladstone shall have passed away. The gift of statesmanship is a gift which is not deficient in push. It is inherently so vigorous and has such love of finding scope for its energies as to be pretty sure to make its way to the front, if it really cares to do so. And the political system of England, whatever its disadvantages, has the important merit of giving the best governing talent of the nation the best possible inducement for making and showing itself fit to govern. It offers its first man a position, as has been suggested, of immense power, and one which if that power be skillfully used may be long held. If it is obliged also to present at every step incessant struggle with a wary opposition, it offers in this not a deterrent, but an attraction greater than almost any other to a strong character. Besides, by giving men of political taste and genius life-long training in the House of Commons and in lower Cabinet positions, the English system educates them for the highest place of all, so that he who is conscious of preëminent power can look forward not only to getting the first place, but also to getting it through an experience which will qualify him to fill it. Mr. Gladstone, for example, "entered Parliament in 1832; in 1852 was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; in 1868 first became Prime Minister," — and it may be added in illustration of what was said of the tenure of the Premiership that in 1884, after about ten years of service as Prime Minister, he is carrying through the crowning measure of his government. A political system which has such a career to offer as its highest prize will draw the best of such governing talent as exists in the nation into the competition. To assume that the gifts of the successful competitor will be absolutely as well as relatively first rate is merely to assume that the British race will not decay. But as the enlargement of the electorate now being made will increase the number of rivals for the highest place, it will guarantee a higher average in the successful contestant. To say that the Premiership will not deteriorate in ability is to say that it will keep its present power, for the capacity to govern is sure to avail itself of the precedents that give it the right to govern. If a combination of circumstances were to put a small man into the place, he could not hold it long enough for its prerogatives to shrink to fit him. He would soon have to give way to a vigorous opponent who would, like Beaconsfield and Gladstone, dominate the party and the nation.

The prospective power of the Premiership — an interesting fact from any point of view — becomes very significant when taken in connection with the great enlargement of the franchise soon to be made. For the English Premier does not owe his position to his sovereign, though the sovereign nominally selects him from the leaders of the dominant party. Nor, like the President of France, does he owe his office to the choice of a representative body. He owes it to the actual if not formal choice of the people. Mr. Gladstone is Prime Minister to-day because the English electors in 1880 decided that they were tired of being governed by Lord

Beaconsfield, and wished that Mr. Gladstone should govern them. Not, of course, that the question upon which they passed judgment was exclusively one of men. It was one of measures as well. But the measures were advocated respectively by a man of genius, who took them up into his own personality and stood for them and for more, for the promise which lay in his own mind and character. Every Liberal voter felt that he was helping Gladstone unseat his opponent, and that he was very likely doing his part to give him the vacant place.

That the new electors will be quite as likely as the old to think of the great man at the head of the party when they vote goes without saying. Those who have less education are not the ones who care relatively more for measures and less for men.

When we have said that the Premier of the future is to be the people's man, and that he is to dominate the nation, we have made a very positive declaration about the character of the government under which England is to live, and one not much to the taste, we suspect, of most Englishmen, — most of those, at least, whose voices we have been wont to hear. We have called it a democracy; — for it belongs to the genius of a democracy, it is its characteristic trait to give dominating power to the people's chosen man. There is no need of calling up the lessons learned at school and college to show that this is true. Every one sees at once that the people govern more consciously when they see the man of their choice using power which they have put into his hands than when they see a legislature for one of whose members they voted making laws for them. In the one case there is a direct connection between the individual's share of political power and the strong arm at the helm of state; in the other the governing power is only a machine, made up of say three hundred parts, one of which he helped set in its place. So a popular government has a native yearning to be a strong man's government, professedly "of the people, by the people, for the people," really, too often, of the people, by the strong man and for the strong man. Hence legislatures, constitutions, and, in our country, the electoral college, devised to keep the people from choosing their President. The futility of the device in a political system which has in other respects carried out so admirably the intentions of its framers, shows how congenial it is to people who have political power to entrust to other hands, to commit to a man — their man. A man interests them; if he have great qualities fascinates them. If he has done good things they can feel respect for him; perhaps warm affection. They can think of his hopes and enter into his ambitions. They can have no such feelings about a company of men making speeches and voting. So, in spite of the Constitution, we elect our President by personal choice, and have more emotion in making the choice than in doing all our other political acts put together.

We stand before the world as the typical democracy. But a country which is governed by "the people's William" is a democracy too; and tried by the true test of democracies, the power given by the people to

their selected man, England, with its monarchy and its House of Peers and its worship of rank, is more democratic than we. For the Premier has vastly more power than the President. The latter executes the laws which Congress makes; the former, through his control of the majority in Parliament (whose powers immensely exceed those of our national legislature), originates and shapes legislation. Acting through the Cabinet and the House of Commons the Prime Minister can make war or conclude peace, can alter the rate of taxation, can suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in a refractory province, or, as now, add two millions of voters to the electorate.

It is not meant, of course, that he can do all these things by merely issuing orders signed by his name. The consenting action of his colleagues and the House of Commons is required, and this cannot be commanded. But it can be won through the personal ascendancy and persuasive gifts which the great man who is now Premier has, and which a man great enough to hold the Premiership is pretty sure to have. So the things which may be done by the Commons may be said to be within the compass of the Prime Minister's power. Most of those acts of sovereign power just mentioned the people of England are now connecting with Mr. Gladstone's name.

On the other hand, our President is called not to govern but to rule. As a ruler he wears splendid dignity, and if he rule well he does noble service to the state; but it is a service less effective though more imposing than that rendered in directing the originating powers of government. Important as it is that the appointing power be wisely used and diplomatic relations be judiciously managed, it is more important, if the comparison must be made, that good laws be passed, for it is in making laws that the state decides what it must do to keep itself comfortable, orderly, and secure. It was because they saw the paramount importance of the law-making power that the framers of our government would so place the President that he could not control it. They would not let it overshadow and dominate him. They gave him the veto power so that he could stand before the country as its peer. But they did not give him the power or the opportunity of directing it. So the President's power, great as it is, is much less than the Premier's, — if the latter be a man of the first order of ability, — though his place is a more imposing one, since he stands at the head of the nation, and, as the depository of its physical power, separated from the people in "the divinity that doth hedge in a king." But while he can only recommend measures the Premier can get them passed. In electing the President we give a man the power to rule after a carefully prescribed manner; in making Mr. Gladstone Premier, England, the truer democracy, thrusts the reins of government into his hands.

If this comparison seem to deal merely with the form of the two free governments, if it is said that as a matter of fact we show more of the passion of the democracy to exalt its chosen man, it is to be answered

that the English political system has scarcely begun to work out its effects in the political life of England. It is not yet twenty years since the last extension of the suffrage. Wait twenty years more, and when the two million new voters shall have acquired political habits see whether they will care more for measures than for men. But even to-day's facts do not warrant the objection. The people's man not only governs England, but he governs it as their man. They follow his every step eagerly, and exult in his achievements. The "*Pall Mall Gazette*," by no means a slavishly Liberal paper, says in a recent issue: "How great Mr. Gladstone is we shall never really know until he is gone. At present he is not so much appreciated as idolized. No man ever had so deep, so powerful a hold upon the imagination of the people as the Prime Minister has to-day. When he travels about the country his journeys are more than royal processions. Crowds wait at every railway station to clamor for a passing word, and a hundred newspapers give precedence to reports of his way-side talk over news of the fall of ministries or the fate of campaigns. In the popular imagination he has undergone an apotheosis not unlike that which in the mind of the Russian peasant takes place on the coronation of the Czar. . . . He is the great dominant personality of our nation. . . . It is strange to witness the revival of the old kingship as the first fruits of English democracy, and it is well that the first monarch of the new line should bear a character as lofty as that of Mr. Gladstone."

This is said because Mr. Gladstone has originated a great piece of legislation, and secured its passage. As in our less democratic political system the people's man cannot create legislation, we cannot ask whether a similar act done by him would cause him to be "apotheosized." But we can make a general comparison as to the comparative degree to which the personal element enters into the political consciousness of the two peoples. And we do not hesitate to say that it has the larger place in the mind of the people whose chosen man has the greater power. We become greatly excited over the election of our President, but after he is elected we do not as a rule feel a very warm interest in what he does. We honor him as the visible head of the nation, and respect and love him if he show himself a good and able man. If he is struck down as was Garfield, we are shaken all through, because the ruler is killed and so the nation outraged, and our emotion is increased by our love for the man.

But we do not feel the same intense interest in him as when we were hoping he would be elected. If he is attacked we do not care so much as we did then. This is partly because the President is not usually a man of great power; it is chiefly because he is not immediately connected with the acts of the government, which are its laws. Our interest in the government is chiefly an interest in what it is doing. Our interest in a man in government is according to the degree to which its acts go out through him. During the war the government acted really through Mr.

Lincoln by the necessities of the case, and we were passionately interested in what he did and said. The exceptional circumstances made us a democracy instead of such a nation as our Constitution indicates, and such an one as we usually are. We were like the English people who make an "uncrowned King" of Mr. Gladstone.

Will popular government in England always be as benign as it is now? Only he can expect this who can feel sure that worthy successors of Mr. Gladstone will hold the Premiership. But are men of equal fascination and force often as pure and large-minded as he? The coming Premier will have to win and hold the regard of a vast number of new voters of little education, and intense jealousy of the upper classes. Is he certain never to stoop to demagogism? Suppose him to be a man strong as the strongest, but narrow, identified in his sympathies with the people, and lacking Mr. Gladstone's veneration for the old political traditions and the relics of mediæval life, — such a statesman as we suppose Mr. Chamberlain to be, — will it be for England's advantage that the people's man is so powerful? The elements which unite in the political life of England are so various that it is folly to predict this or that. But, considering that the English character with all its conservatism is a passionate one, and that an immense mass of the people are most heavily burdened and keenly conscious of their burdens, and that great reforms must be made before long, which if factiously made will cause much harm to society, it is not foolish to say that it may yet be found that the English people govern more immediately than is for the nation's good. Possibly the future England will look wistfully over the sea at a country whose constitutional machinery makes it, if less of a democracy, more peaceful and prosperous.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

The "Theologische Literaturzeitung" of August 9, 1884, has a notice of Guthe's Excavations at Jerusalem which has points of interest. Wilson's and Warren's researches are praised. But they left comparatively untouched the spurs of the Temple-Mount. These stretched to the south outside the city wall. The hollow forming the western boundary of the city wall was also neglected. On the other hand the Bible, Josephus, and the Pilgrim-narratives, laid stress on these localities. Hence Guthe's mission, from March 28 to August 12, 1881. The learned editor of the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins," he brought intelligent zeal and conscientious insight to his task. Fourteen results are specified. We name: (1.) A well-outlined ridge, stretching from northwest to southeast, and ending at the Pool of the Virgin. This divides the south spur from the rest of the Temple-Mount. A fortress on its crest was by nature guarded on every side. This was the site of the Tower of David, the Akra of the Syrians. (2.) The city wall crossed the Tyropæon valley from the southern point of the foregoing spur. The direction was south

southwest. Generally it has been thought to run between the present Pool of Siloam and the Birket-el-Hamra. Really, the wall ran below the Birket-el-Hamra. (3.) The steps which led, after Nehemiah, to the City of David are still in a state of partial preservation. (4.) A fragment of the old city wall may be traced on the eastern brow of the hill of the upper city. Indeed, with the help of earlier explorations, the entire course of the south wall of the Biblical Jerusalem can be reliably reconstructed. (5.) The Siloam Inscription, the oldest written monument of Jerusalem, was chemically put together by Dr. Guthe, who obtained an admirable cast, which can be read with comparative ease. (6.) The remains of the walls are of five different architectures, corresponding to five different periods. (7.) Black mortar seems the exclusive mark of high antiquity. Conder's disparagement of Guthe's work is not accepted. C. is better as an engineer in his measurements of the holy land than in the historic topography of Jerusalem. There he merely jumbles things together in a confusing way.

The world moves when we can read of the antiquarian zeal of a governor of Palestine, Raouf Pacha. Thanks to it the altar found at Mount Gerizim in the middle of 1883 was preserved. M. Clermont Ganneau thinks the relic must have belonged to the pagan temple represented on the Greek imperial coins of Neapolis. The grand flight of steps resembles the Acropolis at Athens, and the scenes are from the Attic cycle. The learned Frenchman describes those on the lower panels of the altar which depict the legend of Theseus. The young hero is first seen raising the rock under which are concealed the shoes and sword of his father Ægeus; three female figures, his mother being one, take part in the scene. "Theseus fighting with the Minotaur" comes next, — identified by the bull's head; the young Athenians, to liberate whom Theseus has attempted his mission, are standing aside, and the cavern-like opening indicates the den of the monster. M. Ganneau has made out the name "Meinotauros," also. The third bas-relief is "Theseus' victory over the Robber," who is stretched at the feet of the hero, who leans on his own club and holds the iron club of the fallen Corynetes. The upper divisions are more dim. Still the serpent Python is plainly seen, with his head pierced by the arrow of the divine archer. All in all, the above is "one of the most interesting monuments hitherto found in Palestine."

Dr. Fritz Hommel, in the November number of the "*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, 1884, has a weighty word on the newly-discovered original of Berosus' Dynasty List. He calls attention to the contents of three tablets published by Mr. Pinches in the May proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. For ancient Oriental history he pronounces them of epoch-marking importance. The first he styles a pretty complete copy of (Sem. I. S. 332 ff.) the cuneiform source of Berosus' Dynasty Lists. The second is a Babylonian chronicle of the period from Nabunâsir to Šumaš-šumukin. This justifies Schrader's identification of Phul (Pu-lu) with Tiglath-pileser. Dr. Hommel then reproduces an epitome of Tablet I., with chronological identifications and observations of his own. Of these the chief relates to Dynasty h's seventeen kings, but summed up as thirty-one kings, "since here also fourteen have been left out, with no statement of the amount of years at the end, 1044-732, B. C. First a gap of thirteen kings, of whom the first or third must have been Sakašaltias II.; then Nabû-šumiskun; then Nabû-nâsir, 747-734; then Nabûnâdin-ziri, 733-732; and, with one month twelve days, Nabû-šum-

ukin." His date for Chammuragas is 1922-1877. This is from Dynasty a. Amarpal reigned from 1952-1922, synchronizing with Abraham. The tablet from which the list has been taken is of unbaked clay, three inches and a half long and three inches and a quarter wide.

Less valuable than the foregoing, but more curious, is the inscription of Antiochus Soter at Babylon. Birs-nimroud or Borsippa was the site of its discovery by the English. On a terra-cotta cylinder, in archaic characters like those of Gudéa, or Goudéa, was the following exordium: "Antiochus, King of Babylon, King of Epirus, Reconstructor of the Pyramid, Eldest Son of Seleucus the Macedonian. For a long time my spirit has inclined me to rebuild the pyramid, and the tower, and I have moulded with my own hands many bricks in Syria, and I have had them transported to lay the foundations of buildings. In the month Adar of the 43d year I laid the foundations of the pyramid and the tower." Then come the stereotyped religious formulas transmitted by the Assyrians from time immemorial. In 269 B. C. we hear the language of 722 B. C. The Greek monarch writes like a veritable pedant. We smile that Antiochus should pose as the "well-beloved son of Merodach" (Marduk). It seems a puerile absurdity to pray for a long reign to alien deities, whose worship had long been obsolete. Yet perhaps a subtle policy dictated the cylinder. The prince would defer to the customs of a conquered land, and link his dynasty to the ancient ones of Assurbanipal, of Nebuchadnezzar, and even of the Chaldean kings. The above document was read by M. Jules Oppert, before the Académie des Inscriptions at their session of September 5, 1884.

The "Athenæum" of November 8, under the heading "Discoveries at Behistun and Nineveh," prints communications from Sir H. C. Rawlinson and Sir H. Layard which deserve record. Rawlinson disclaims having pretended to be the first decipherer of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions. That he contributed but one letter, *m*, to the general result is a misrepresentation. Ten characters would be nearer the truth. Burnouf and Lassen in 1836 had determined twenty characters out of thirty-nine. Rawlinson himself was the first, however, "to present to the world a literal and correct grammatical translation of several hundred lines of Persian cuneiform writing, a memorial of the time of Darius Hystaspes." He, also, "broke the crust of Babylonian decipherment by supplying the means of comparing the different versions of the Behistun Inscription, so as to establish the value of some two hundred Babylonian characters, and thus to lead to the interpretation of the independent inscriptions of Nineveh." That this key did not drop from the clouds into his hands he demonstrates by the following interesting facts: From 1833 to 1839 he was an officer in Persia, and only succeeded in copying one half of the Persian text of Behistun. Then the Afghan war removed him. Promoted to a high post in India for his military services, he remembered Behistun, and accepted twelve years of exile in Bagdad; willing, in order to attain the ambition of his life, to cut himself off from comfort, health, and society. In 1844 and 1847 he visited the rock, riding one thousand miles and disbursing over one thousand pounds of his own money. He climbed five hundred feet above the plain to the sculptures. This was at the risk of life and limb, where representatives of the French government declared it an impossibility to gain access, and but one traveler is known to have ascended since. The prize thus gained he deemed his own and his nation's. If he had at once and unreservedly placed

his materials in the hands of stay-at-home savants of France and Germany, he felt he should have been wanting in due regard to the interests of English scholarship. That there was no unreasonable delay in publishing after discovery, Rawlinson appears amply to show. Layard ascribes to Botta the honor of having discovered the first Assyrian monument, and adds: "Botta did not excavate in the Mound of Kouyunjik, which is now generally recognized as marking the true site of Nineveh, and in which I discovered the ruins of the palace of Sennacherib. So, strictly speaking, it may be said I discovered Nineveh." The public will be glad that Max Müller's "Biographical Essay on Julius Mohl" should have been the means of placing the truth in so clear a light. The foregoing letters were drawn out by the learned professor's imputation that Rawlinson and Layard were bedecked with feathers not their own.

The Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, we learn from the "Independent," has reached Marash and is examining the Hittite Inscriptions. Before sailing from New York Dr. Ward made clear the object in view. This was exploration, not excavation. "Our implements will consist of books and maps and surveying instruments, instead of picks and shovels." The itinerary has thus far been strictly adhered to. Consultations with Assyriologists at London, and with Turkish authorities at Stamboul, have been prosperous. In Constantinople the presence of Professor Haynes of Robert College was secured, — a valuable accession to the personnel of their force. With the favor of Providence the expedition may hope in the winter months to lay a foundation for great archæological discoveries. Their prime errand now is prospecting. A map of Southern Babylonia is their immediate work. Should our countrymen succeed in doing for the lower Euphrates what Chesney and Felix Jones have done for the upper, they will have deserved well of science and entitled themselves to public liberality. While the public watches the discoverers, it may prepare to pay the excavators. America is soon to have a noble opportunity for archæological enterprise.

Meanwhile she is not unmindful of her own remains in the Occident. In the July number of the "American Antiquarian Journal" the accomplished editor, Rev. S. D. Peet, presents some instructive facts respecting Bird Effigies in emblematic mounds. These are distinguished by a single projection on each side of a central figure. The wings are distinctive of the genius; the bodies or beaks of the species. The wild goose has a long neck and a short body. The hawk has a sharp bill, a flat head, and long pointed wings. Sometimes the birds are confounded with crosses. Mayville is such a locality; according to Dr. Lapham. He says, "If these crosses are . . . evidence of the former existence of Christianity on this continent, . . . we may with almost equal propriety assert Mohammedanism was associated with it, and as proof refer to the mound or ridge here presented in the form of a crescent." *Dr. Peet makes the last the effigy of a duck, the first the effigy of a wild goose!* The builders of the mounds represented certain habits of the birds. They are in motion, in flocks, in associations befitting birds of prey and peace, in connections showing them to be birds of prairie or forest and lake, in triumph or defeat. The significance of the effigies seems certain. Their toil implies it and composite mounds are in favor of it. A bird in the act of flying with a mound near the body and under the wing is evidently symbolical. One theory is that a messenger is meant. Another view makes the bird bear to the spirit land the person whose remains are de-

posited in the mound. Then again the wings are outstretched as if the bird was brooding over the burial mound, forming the spirit within it. The evidence that these bird effigies were intended as guards to protect inclosures is very wide. Inscriptions and traditions will doubtless aid us in understanding them more profoundly. Are there relations here to the Egyptian bird which stood in the hieroglyphics for the soul?

The second annual meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund was held in London early in November last. Miss Edwards congratulated the society on the discovery of an American silver mine in Rev. W. C. Winslow's subscribers to the fund. Still more rare, and in admirable preservation, was a young English student of Egyptology, being "the first specimen of that article which had turned up for a whole generation." Thirty years hence there would not otherwise have been an Englishman capable of reading an Egyptian inscription. A generous gift to the Egyptian Museum in Boston was voted, and accepted by Hon. James Russell Lowell, the American Minister. Mr. W. M. F. Petrie previously had read a report on the Excavations at Zoan. He spoke of the earth having to be removed to four times the depth at which Roman remains were found in London, and of the extent of the territory to be probed for remains of the shepherd kings. Centuries, not months, were needed for the work. He urged the cleaning of the stones of Mariette's great temple, uncovered twenty years since, and promising the most complete account of its site. A glass zodiac had been found, with the heads of the months painted in ochre, and the signs laid on in gold foil. This was 174 A. D. It was the only example of painting on glass discovered there or elsewhere, save a vase in Cyprus. The foregoing was the only Roman zodiac yet found in Egypt. Near it was the only glass lens. Elsewhere he had explored a site so covered with early Greek pottery of all ages that the potsherds crackled under the feet as one walked over it. With suitable toil he should be able to locate the sepulchre of one of the Pharaohs of the Delta, and enter the building, which had a magnificent gateway carved in red granite by Amenemhat I., the founder of the XII. Dynasty. It was stated that the relations between the Greeks and Egyptians would be unfolded, and that the route of the Exodus would be studied more fully the coming year. M. Naville expected to be on the ground. Keys to collections already in existence were predicted confidently.

Last May, while traveling in Tunis, M. Paul Melon discovered, near Mehdia, a Phœnician necropolis. M. Renan affirms that the type is not that of Tyre, but the much rarer one of Arvad. The door of the funerary chamber opened toward the east. The well was sunk from the surface, as in Egyptian tombs. Unlike them, steps were cut in its side. Descending these, one enters a chamber and then the sepulchral chamber proper, which contained two beds on the right and left. On one of these the explorer was so fortunate as to find a skeleton *in situ*. Elsewhere he came on lamps of blackish gray, of a form neither Roman or Egyptian. The "*Revue Archéologique*" of September, 1884, publishes the letter in which M. Melon writes of his discovery. It is a model of lucidity and precision.

Phœnician tombs at best cannot compare with Egyptian in instructiveness. M. Maspero keeps us from forgetting this. Between the VI. and XI. Dynasties of ancient Egypt there has been generally supposed to be a gap. "For over four centuries not a stela, not a statue, not a tomb, not

the smallest fragment is found." Professor Maspero, who has never accepted this cataclysm, has recently struck upon the missing link. The tomb of Hapi-Tefa at Siout set him on the track. There was a cartouche which others had ascribed to the XIII. dynasty. He recovered it for a king of Heracleopolis, — *i. e.*, the IX. and X. In his "Trois Années de Fouilles dans les Tombeaux de Thèbes et Memphis," soon to be published, the graceful and graphic savant will corroborate his views of the unbroken current of Egyptian history. The same pen has retouched the "Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient." There he has traced the evolution of the religion of Israel. In this fascinating yet profound book, whose advance sheets Miss Amelia B. Edwards has been permitted to read, appear things new and old. "Sayce's invaluable appendixes to the first three books of Herodotus are largely relied upon in all that relates to Lycia, Phrygia, and the Hittites; the explorations of Naville at Tel-el-Maskhoota, of De Sarzec at Tello, of Schliemann in the Troad, of Conder and Thomson at Homs, of F. Holland in Sinai, and of Dr. H. C. Trumbull at Kadesh-Barnea find due recognition." Yet the work is creative, and bears the two-fold stamp of the man of science and the man of action from whom it is to emanate.

The Egyptologist best fitted to appreciate such work has passed away during the current year. This was Richard Lepsius, 1810-1884. Prof. Max Müller, in the "Academy" of July 19, pays a beautiful tribute to his illustrious friend. Every one knows of Lepsius' "Denkmäler aus Egypten u. Ethiopien," 1849-59. Thanks to Müller, we are told of his human sympathy, critical accuracy, and historical tact. He was a student of antiquity, but not a mere antiquary. His dissertation at Berlin for a degree, on the "Umbrian Inscriptions," was a classical application of comparative philology worthy of his teacher Bopp. His Volney Prize treatise at Paris, on "Palseography as an instrument in the study of language" stamped the youth of twenty-four a prince among scholars. Egyptology attracted him as well by its moment for the history of ancient Greek art and civilization as by its own mysterious possibilities. In Italy, in England, in Egypt, in Berlin, he was always at the front of the battle for knowledge. He had something of telescopic no less than microscopic insight. To him there was no higher function in life than to preserve and augment the sacred stock of human learning. He was noble in his bearing and gallant in his spirit always. In him were wedded classic and Oriental lore. In the museum, as on his Nubian grammar, he was of the old chivalrous race of German scholars, to whom scholarship was a means, not an end; who lived for great ideas, and were conscious of their calling to do good work, not for the lecture room only, but the world.

Professor Helbig, in his work on "Homer and the Monuments," would interpret *κύανος*, not as steel, but as a blue glass. The objection on the score of cheapness he meets by the assumption that an age of luxury had come and gone. *Κύανος* even had become a possession to be prized. His chapter on Achilles' Shield admits Assyrian influence on the early Greeks in art. Why not in letters? An English writer thinks he might have traced the Ballad of the Shield to an Assyrian source. But the song makes no note of shipping. This seems to intimate an origin and shaping by an inland nation. By the evidence of many citations Professor H. shows that the early Greeks dreaded the sea.

Schliemann's excavations at Tiryns have caused him to give three cheers for Pallas Athene. He lays special stress on the mural paintings

of the immense palace he has brought to light. The date of its most modern part is anterior to the eighth century. The paintings of men and animals on the vases are primitive, showing no trace of Asiatic influence. These recall Mycenæ. Horned women, idols, and obsidian knives attest the high antiquity of the structure. The lower walls are of stone and clay, the upper ones of crude brick. Nothing can be more vivid than the wall paintings, one of which is the complete model of the admirable ceiling of *Thalamos d' Orchomenos*. The "*Revue Archéologique*" says: "Here is one more capital discovery, which archæology owes to the explorer of Hissarlik, this energetic pioneer of science whom we should admire without reserve, could he consent to admire himself a little less. M. Newton wrote sadly, in 1879: 'Why has England no Schliemanns?' May not we in turn repeat the phrase of Agésilas on Pharnabazus: "*Talis quam sis, utinam noster esses!*"

If England has no Schliemann she has a Ramsay, whose work in Asia Minor is of the best. A paper on the Græco-Roman Civilization in Pisidia by this brilliant explorer is worthy of condensation. The author was on his way from Apollonia to Antioch, when he observed a long inscription in a cemetery by the roadside. Spite of bitter winds and heavy showers he obtained a squeeze of a small part. The rest he learned by heart, half a line at a time, and wrote it out under shelter, revising it in the morning. It proved to be a subscription-paper about 225 A. D. The names of the contributors were derived from heathen gods, from Greek names of good omen, from Roman emperors, and educated fancy. The object of the collection was to enrich the worship of the goddess Artemis. The magnitude of the sum was such as would best accord with beautifying or building a temple. Topographically, it came from villages near the large double lake, Egerdir Göl and Hoiran Göl, — which has received the conjectural name *Limnai*, — from the south to the northwest. That the lake-country clusters round a hieron of Artemis, agrees with Curtius, who mentions the association of Artemis-worship with "low-lying land and reed-covered marshes." "The reeds shared with men in the worship of the goddess, and moved to the sound of the music in her festivals;" or, as Strabo says, "The baskets danced, as in Laconia maidens crowned with reeds danced." Where now hardly a man could give twenty denarii to the cause of religion, there scores, according to Dr. Ramsay, gave their hundreds and thousands to the ancient sanctuary of Pisidia and to the "great goddess Diana."

John Phelps Taylor.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE FREE CHURCH MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN.

UNDER the above title, the "*Andover Review*" for October, 1884, contains a sprightly article, which has interested many readers and has been freely commented on by the religious press. The author, who is "Superintendent of the Scandinavian Department of the American Home Missionary Society," "spent some weeks" in Sweden last spring, and claims to have "enjoyed many facilities for making his inquiries complete." But

just here, namely, in completeness, the article principally fails, and leaves some very important things yet to be supplied to the reader. To supply this deficiency, and to correct some very erroneous impressions left by the article in question, is the mission of this paper.

(1.) The article makes very clear the opposition shown by the Lutheran state church to the movement, but it does not state the ground of opposition, so that its readers may determine whether the opposition is just or unjust. This is vital to the whole subject. Why does the Lutheran state church oppose the Waldenströmian movement? This question, which would naturally suggest itself to a thoughtful mind, is not answered by the article. The answer is found in the fundamental doctrinal difference between the Lutheran state church and the Waldenströmian movement. The theologically-trained reader will readily detect a general doctrinal looseness in the "account" given by "an honored minister" and in the letter of Dr. Waldenström; but the average reader, carried away by the pietistic pretense of the movement, will make no such discovery. The article fails to tell us in plain and distinct terms that the movement is thoroughly

(a.) *Donatistic.*

This crops out in the "account" and in the "letter," but might not be discerned by the unscientific reader. In Sweden, however, where the movement appears in real life, it affects to set up an ideal society which shall correspond to the true invisible church, where there shall be no evil persons nor unbelievers. It also labors to make the impression that the Word is not efficacious and the sacraments scarcely valid when delivered by evil men. That is, it undermines the faith of men in the objective value of the means of grace, and tries to set up such a church as has never existed,—as does not exist even among themselves, as the "account" only too sadly proves.

This brings the movement doctrinally into direct conflict with the Lutheran state church, whose confession of faith (the Augsburg), in the eighth article, directly and specifically condemns this Donatistic heresy. The movement is also thoroughly

(b.) *Socinian.*

It denies the deity of Christ. The following is a close literal translation from the "Witness" of 1878 (pp. 282, 283), in which Waldenström signs himself "P. W."

"Doctor Waldenström:—

"In the name of Jesus! Some distressed souls ask you to give a definite answer to this question: Do you consider it to be the doctrine of the Scriptures, that Christ, not only as man, but also as the Son of God, is less than the Father; i. e., do the words of Jesus, 'The Father is greater than I,' mean that Jesus is inferior to the Father, and consequently not true God, equal with the Father? Pardon the trouble, but for the sake of the Lord, Herr Doctor will certainly serve severely distressed brothers and sisters."

Answer:—

"Dear Friend,—As an answer to your letter, I have nothing more to say than that I am unable to solve the question addressed to me. I lack a decided conviction in this thing; but when I write concerning it, I state the words of the Bible, without further commentary, as they read. That I do not understand the subject perfectly does not trouble me."

"P. W."

"P. W." is a skillful controversialist, and often conceals his errors, and

deceives, by the use of orthodox terms. On page 421, October "Review," he says that he *always* held fast to the divinity of Christ. But so did Channing, Socinus, and Arius *always* call Jesus divine; yet neither did they, nor does Dr. Waldenström, confess Jesus in the words and sense of the ancient Œcumenical Creed, "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one Substance with the Father," which is the true test of orthodoxy on the Deity of Christ; but "'P. W.' has no 'decided conviction' on this thing," and it "does not trouble" him, even in the service of "severely distressed brothers and sisters."

(2.) The movement denies the procession of the Spirit from the Son, — the *Filioque*. Speaking of himself in the "Witness," 1878 (pp. 31, 32), he says, "'P. W.' has denied the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. It is impossible to show where it is written that the Spirit proceeds from the Son." Comment is unnecessary.

(3.) It denies the vicarious atonement of Christ. The following quotations are made from the "Witness" of 1878, the official organ of Waldenström and Ekman: "Of late great changes have taken place in Christian views. Christ's sufferings, as a suffering of punishment for the payment of our sins, the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, the reconciliation of God, the fulfilling of the law by Christ in our stead, etc., — these points were formerly considered as very necessary foundations for all true Christianity" (pp. 94, 95). It is implied that they are no longer such.

"P. W." writes: "As you know I have in my writings zealously combated the doctrine that God should have imputed to Christ the guilt of our sins" (p. 28).

Again "P. W." writes: "If it only anywhere were written that God spares sinners on the ground that Christ has done and suffered everything which was requisite for our atonement. But it is precisely this which nowhere is written. That God has made Christ, through suffering, a perfect Prince of Salvation, and that he now saves sinners by implanting them in Christ, — that is what Scripture teaches" (p. 339).

Again he writes; "It is the work of theology to christen a pagan conception, which has been the cause that man has changed the Father from the subject to the object of the atonement. That Scripture teaches that God has been reconciled; concerning this, the theological gentlemen in general agree, — as much so as it is certain that Scripture never says it. It is certain that in Scripture not a word is spoken concerning a satisfaction given to the Law. Nay, that whole talk is a human fiction. It is not at all unholy to forgive sins without satisfaction for an offense which has been committed. Yea, it is heathenism to teach that God would come in conflict with his holiness if he forgave sins without having first received satisfaction for the offense which his law had suffered. Neither is that doctrine found in the Word of God. Certain it is that, while the Augsburg Confession teaches that we for Christ's sake have a gracious God, Scripture teaches that we for the sake of the grace of God have Christ, and that is surely not one and the same thing" (pp. 298, 301, 302).

Again "P. W." writes: "Scripture never says that God does anything for Christ's sake. That God for Christ's sake condemns the ungodly, — that is written precisely in as many passages as this: that He for Christ's sake justifies the sinner. Nowhere is it said in the Word of God that God is gracious to us for Christ's sake, — nay, all that is *fiction*" (p. 337).

Again: "*The object of the life, death, resurrection, and the whole work of Christ was undoubtedly this: that we should receive forgiveness of sins, be sanctified and blessed. But that is something different from this: that God, on account of this work, should forgive, sanctify, and make blessed*" (p. 301). The italics are "P. W.'s."

Further testimony as to the thoroughly Socinian character of "P. W.'s" theology is unnecessary. The reader has the *verba ipsissima*. He need not depend upon foreign statement, although he can have the witness of Dr. Schaff that "Waldenström denies the substitutional idea of the Atonement."

And in addition to these errors, it may be said of the movement in general, that it utterly lacks in unity and consistency of doctrine.

Waldenström is represented as holding the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper and of Infant Baptism. Ekman holds the Calvinistic view of the Supper and rejects Infant Baptism. This shows that the leaders themselves do not agree. Now these facts above given, the Lutheran state church sees and knows. And when these facts are brought sharply before us, they show distinctly that the movement is fundamentally without the pale of orthodox Christianity; that besides being Donatistic, it denies the Deity of Christ, the *Filioque*, and the Vicarious Atonement, as these doctrines are taught in the creeds and by the theologians of all the distinctively Protestant churches.

Hence we do not believe that the author of the October article could fraternize with Messrs. Waldenström and Ekman on the basis of the Shorter Catechism, nor stand with them on the Saybrook Platform; nor do we believe that either Waldenström or Ekman would be allowed to occupy, for one hour, a theological chair at Andover, at Newton, at Madison, at Princeton, at Gettysburg, nor to teach in a single lecture his heresies in these honored schools of the prophets, for they are the very heresies — baldest Socinianism — against which the orthodox pulpits and theological chairs of this whole country fulminated and thundered half a century ago; heresies which, we believe, should they raise their heads to-day in any leading denominations of this country and seek to "draw off the best elements" of those denominations, would be unsparingly opposed and denounced.

And yet the author declares, "The Lutheran state church is especially bitter towards this new movement." It is not the "new movement," my friend, particularly in so far as it is morally reformatory and congregational, that the Lutheran state church denounces. It is the old heresy which strikes at the very heart and life of the Lutheran faith; yea, the faith of orthodox Protestantism, the faith of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The point at issue, and the ground of opposition, is the rank heresy in fundamental doctrines; and that too not in doctrines which are peculiar to Lutheranism, but common to historical and confessional Protestant Christianity. Hence Protestantism in general, — and, indeed, in some of the points at issue, Christianity in general, — has an interest in the Waldenströmian movement. The above facts and explanations supplementary to the October article are given that the readers of the "Review" may have a *completer* account of the movement, and may be able to decide how far the Lutheran state church is wrong in opposing it. The manner of opposition will be treated below.

2. The October article leaves on the mind a very dark picture of the piety and morality of the Lutheran state church of Sweden. Failing to discriminate between the true and false in that church, it leads the uninformed reader to believe that the pastors in that church are unconverted men, and that the members, for the greater part at least, are unbelievers, and destitute of piety and morality. Indeed the Waldenströmians speak

of themselves as "believers" in contrast with the members of the state church, who, by implication certainly, are regarded as unbelievers. That there are many such in the state church is sadly true, and that ecclesiastical discipline scarcely exists in that church is also true, as is the case in all other state churches. But it is not true, as the article now under review would have us believe, that the Lutheran state church has failed, and even now fails, to subserve the great ends of the church, viz., to be a promoter of piety and morality. The testimony on this point is overwhelming, and leaves a picture luminous as compared with that left by the October article.

Dr. Schaff writes : —

"Norway, as well as Sweden and Denmark, embraced the Lutheran Reformation in the sixteenth century, and has ever remained true to it. The Scandinavians, upon the whole, are a churchly people, and do credit to the Lutheran creed. The churches are well attended. There is little infidelity and rationalism, and a good deal of religious life and activity. There is considerable zeal for foreign missions. The pastors are plain, worthy, well-educated, and faithful men." — *Independent*.

Dr. Schaff could scarcely say so much of the American people.

Du Chaillu has filled two volumes with hearty admiration of the Scandinavians. Speaking of a clergyman he says : —

"A thoroughly good man, with no sham about him. He told them that after this life there was another : that soon death must come, and they must think of their souls, putting their trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. He finished with an earnest exhortation to love God, to hate sin and to follow after righteousness. It was really very beautiful to see so many men (3,000), bred among the rocks of the North, amidst storms and privations, come to pay homage to the Creator. I doubt very much if such a sight could be seen in any other Christian country. In the afternoon the room of the worthy pastor was crowded with fishermen who came to say good-bye, to thank him for his teachings, or to make some religious inquiry." — *Land of the Midnight Sun*, vol. ii., p. 131.

The Hon. S. S. Cox writes of the Norwegians, who are identical in Christian faith and moral and religious life with the Swedes : —

"They are an honest people. We see no beggary, no poorhouses, no jails, and we hear of very few crimes of violence. No locks are needed upon the doors. Drunkenness is rare. They love music and flowers, and are devoted to their church and families. They are never idle. Even the girls are knitting while attending sheep and cows. Living in Norway is cheap and there are no suffering poor. Above all, to the honor and credit of this people, there is not a public scandal in the whole country. Would to God I could hold up my head among the Norwegians and proclaim the same for my own loved country ! I have had full opportunity to observe the characteristics of this people from one end of the land to the other." See, also, *Arctic Sunbeams*, p. 130.

When addressed personally on this subject Mr. Cox replied : "It is all true. I could have made it a great deal stronger."

Mr. Froude, speaking of a Norwegian city of forty thousand souls, says : —

"I do not know whether there is so much as a beggar in the whole town. They are quiet, simple, industrious folk, who mind their own business. They are Lutherans, universally Lutherans. It is the national religion and they are entirely satisfied with it. . . . The intellectual essentials are well looked after — the schools are good, and well attended. . . . One of our party wondered whether there was any chance of the Norwegians attaining a higher civilization. I asked her to define civilization. Did industry, skill, energy, sufficient

food and raiment, sound practical education, and piety which believes without asking questions, constitute civilization; and would luxury, newspapers, and mechanics' institutes, mean a higher civilization?" See *Norway Fjords, passim*.

Professor Weidner, of Angustana College, who spent a part of last summer in Sweden, writes:—

"Nowhere on the face of the earth can you find a country which as a whole is more religious than Sweden. Compare it with the state of affairs in America, where we pride ourselves on our spiritual activity, and Sweden by far carries off the palm. There is a deeper interest in religious affairs; there is, on the whole, purer family life; there is more religious intelligence; and, take it all in all, the state church, in spite of its shortcomings and weaknesses, has been a great blessing to Sweden. There are hundreds of faithful, earnest pastors, and tens of thousands of earnest, believing souls. There is indeed a spiritual revival of its truest kind in the hearts of the people."

The Rev. Dr. Dömer, of Washington, D. C., who "spent some weeks" in the West¹ among the Swedes, "enjoying many facilities for making his inquiries complete," thus writes:—

"Look at the churches, colleges, seminaries, orphan asylums, and hospitals which they are building in this country; look at the scholarly, earnest, self-denying ministers they are continually sending forth; look into their homes, and consider the pious culture and care of the children in those homes; and mark the integrity, honesty, industry, frugality, and order of those communities of the West where they have settled together in communities and masses. When you have so considered them, I am confident that the honest verdict will be, '*Of all citizens, none are better than these; of all church people, none are more devout, active, and exemplary.*'"

Further testimony is superfluous. The witnesses are divines, statesmen, philosophers; all of whom went to Scandinavia, not for the purpose of studying for "some weeks" one phase of the moral and religious life of a small part of the people; not for the purpose of giving aid and comfort to a small body of schismatics, who are trying to compass the injury of the state church; but who went there for the purpose of studying the moral, religious, and social institutions of the entire people. Surely they are all quite competent to form a correct opinion; and, at least four of them being non-Lutheran, the concurrent verdict cannot be charged with undue bias in favor of the state church. It will be hard to overthrow their testimony; that is, to show that in piety, virtue, integrity, popular intelligence, in all the prime essentials of Christian life and character, these Scandinavian peoples are not fully the peers of any known on the face of the earth. Surely they cannot be made better by the prevalence among them of Donatistic and Socinian errors, unless, in the estimation of some American Christians, Donatism and Socinianism are better than Lutheranism, and these peoples are sinners chiefly because they are Lutherans.

¹ The writer, as pastor, college professor, and traveler, for twelve years went in and out among the Swedes in the West. He has preached in their pulpits, slept in their beds, and eaten at their tables. His candid and deliberate judgment of their religious and moral character is expressed exactly in the words of the October article (p. 411): "They are peaceable, meek, fervent, devoted, upright, especially given to prayer and the reading of the Bible. With most singular fidelity and simplicity they have sought to follow the New Testament idea of a Church of Christ." We add: Nowhere in America have we seen

And now, in view of the facts submitted, in the interest of truth and irenics, in the interest of comity and Christian fraternity, in the interest of pure faith and sound doctrine, we leave our readers to decide whether our author or any other man is justified in aiding and abetting the Waldenströmian schism. And in the interest of the eight hundred millions of human souls dwelling in heathenish darkness, — to say nothing of the condition of the Catholics and freedmen, — we likewise leave them to decide whether any Christian missionary society is justified in sending men and money to proselyte these Scandinavians, whether in Europe or in America, from that faith and cultus which have made them absolutely without a parallel among the Christian peoples of the earth; and we commend all who are in doubt to the "Princeton Missionary Review," of December, 1883, p. 487.¹

3. The article, notably Dr. Waldenström's letter, conveys a wrong impression in regard to the missionary societies in Sweden that are promoting true piety. The most active and influential of these all belong to the Lutheran state church. Over one hundred missionary societies belong to the "Fosterlands Stiftelsen," which has over three hundred representatives working in its interest, nearly all of whom are pastors. It supports eighty-six colporteurs, who also engage in giving more or less religious instruction. It supports nine missionaries in East Africa, three in India, nine among the sailors in foreign ports, and two on the islands in the Baltic, and carries on an educational institution where its men are trained. In addition to this it is an immense publishing concern, and furnishes the best devotional literature, Bibles, commentaries, etc., at merely nominal cost. The writings of Baxter, Bengel, Bogatsky, Bunyan, Christlieb, Frances Havergal, Luther, Bickersteth, Neander, Moody, are published by it in great abundance and scattered broadcast. In the year 1883 it expended for missions alone 135,547 crowns, which in Sweden represents fully as much as so many dollars in America. Now, since all this is done by the Lutheran state church of Sweden, surely it is not deficient in missionary activity nor destitute of piety. Waldenström's letter is entirely deficient in that, referring to the "Fosterlands Stiftelsen," it does not bring out these facts and give honor to whom honor is due.

4. The article speaks of the persecution of the Waldenströmians by the state church. But it fails to give three important facts: (a) Much of this persecution resulted from violation of the laws of the state, through religious fanaticism and "boundless licentiousness," and the commission of the most "shocking sins." See p. 418. (b) "They also use all pos-

children so thoroughly grounded in the fundamentals of Christianity as among the Scandinavians of the West.

¹ "With nearly seven million freedmen to educate and Christianize, and with the American Indians, Chinese, and the ignorant non-Christian masses of our English-speaking population to labor for, why should Presbyterians and other denominations, unable to accomplish this their more special and appropriate work, divert men and money to labor for Lutheran immigrants already so well provided for, and when all they attempt for them must be done at such serious disadvantage?" This is a thoughtful question, and has both an economic and a Christian side. It should be answered, not in the spirit of denominational zeal, but with reference to the best interests of immortal souls. These "Lutheran immigrants" are neither heathens nor infidels, but Christians; not without faults, but "let him that is without fault among you," etc.

sible endeavors," writes a late visitor to Sweden, "to destroy the work of reform in the state church itself. Indeed, it may be said, they persecute the pastors and congregations of the state church more than they ever have been persecuted." This they do by maligning the state church, exciting opposition to the pastors, and by engaging incessantly in proselyting the best persons from the state church. (c) The persecution on the part of the state church, whatever there was of it, does not now exist. It is a thing of the past. Even Waldenström to-day is a teacher in and draws his pay through this *persecuting* (?) state church. The fact is, Sweden, just like Old England and New England, in gaining full religious freedom, has had to pass through a siege of persecution for which we have only words and feelings of abhorrence.

5. It is very unfortunate that the article should confine itself almost wholly to one phase of the "free church movement in Sweden," and that the documents submitted should all be from one side. The author's inquiries would have been much more complete and satisfactory had he heard and given the other side. In that event his readers would have learned that the *true* Free Church movement in Sweden is an effort to free the church from state control and to introduce ecclesiastical discipline. This movement is favored and supported by many of the most pious and godly men in the state church; and it is in accordance with the fundamental idea of the Lutheran church polity, which has never recognized as of divine appointment a sacerdotal order, nor a *defensor fidei* in the person of the political ruler, but has always been "in foundation and ground congregational." In this country and in many others the Lutheran church is "purely congregational" in government, and exercises a Scriptural discipline over its members. Rosenius, and especially many of his followers, sought to realize this idea; but their movement has been conducted with good order and soundest orthodoxy, and a wrong impression is left and injury is done to the memory of a "most godly man" when it is said that the mantle of Rosenius has fallen upon Waldenström. At first Waldenström did seem to take up the work where it was left by Rosenius; but he has long since ceased to follow in the footsteps of his master, who was orthodox to the core, and differed *toto cælo* as touching the doctrines which form the distinguishing feature of the Waldenströmian movement, which is trying not so much to reform the church and to free it from state control as to *destroy* the state church and to establish independency in connection with fundamental error. True congregationalism, — that is, freedom from state alliance, and self-government, — is slowly but surely making progress in Sweden. It has in its interest very many pastors and thousands of members who utterly repudiate its Waldenströmian malversation.

Foreign interference and sympathy with the Waldenströmians can only retard its progress and defer the day of its realization.

6. "The Free Mission churches" in this country, which the article describes, are purely and avowedly Waldenströmian. One of their leaders, after a year's probation, was ejected from the Swedish Augustana Synod for "denying the doctrine of the Bible and of the Lutheran church concerning the atonement in the death of Christ," and for "denying the doctrine of the Bible and of the Lutheran church concerning justification by grace, for the sake of Christ, through faith."¹

¹ Minutes of Augustana Synod for 1878, 1879.

Here we close our paper supplementary to the article on "The Free Church Movement in Sweden." It is a "severe condensation" of facts, without which the reader of the article will fail to have an intelligent apprehension of the movement.

J. W. Richard.

YORK, PA.

THE ITALIAN CATHOLIC REFORM MOVEMENT IN ROME.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN ROME.

No better testimony could be given to the reality of the reform work begun in Rome by the Count di Campello and Monsignore Savarese than that which has lately been given by the Pope himself, in the shape of the greater excommunication solemnly pronounced against all in any way connected with it. This was launched on the 29th of September last, in the shape of a formal and lengthy "Notification" by "Lucido Maria Parocchi, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Vicar General of the Holiness of our Lord," which was posted on the doors of all the papal churches in Rome, and published far and wide in the press. It is a strange document for this century, — so extreme in its assertion of papal claims, so arrogant and ignorant, that one feels as if the writer had just wakened from a Rip Van Winkle nap of four hundred years. It begins by reciting how, "at the beginning of his glorious pontificate, the Holiness of our Lord, Pope Leo XIII., put his children on their guard against the proselytism of heresy by means of an address issued by his Cardinal Vicar, . . . and to avert such a danger from his dear Rome, had had recourse to the wise severity of ecclesiastical censures." But for all this, now, in the seventh year, "the evil had still spread." "To-day, however, new woes threaten this city. A so-called congregation of St. Paul, situated in the Via Genoa, arrogating to itself the title of Catholic and abusing the name of Italian, is trying to ensnare the Romans in schism and heresy," and the Cardinal Vicar says that many very special reasons concur to make him raise his voice high in denunciation of this new sect. He first attacks them for their use of the vulgar tongue, and for daring to abolish "the proper tongue of the Church, the bond of the faithful from the Amazon to the Tagus, from Terra del Fuego to Iceland, the language of the Councils (!) and of the Fathers (!!);" and further, they have presumed to introduce variations in ritual "altogether without the consent of the authority that orders the divine worship of the universe." This refers more specially to the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds. Further, they are without mission, taking this office of preaching on themselves. The cardinal states the Roman position very sharply here in these words: "The Levite takes his orders from the priest, the latter is subject to the bishop, and the bishop, in his turn, glories in standing under the Roman Pontiff, to whom, in the person of Peter, Jesus Christ committed his flock solely, wholly, and without limits or reserve."

But besides being thus schismatical, the cardinal finds them plainly guilty of heresy, because they deny the dogma of the Papal Infallibility and sympathize with the Old Catholics, and — I quote the cardinal's own very naive words — demand "a religion suited to the cultivation of the people and the needs of modern civilization, instead of the true Catholic religion." Moreover, he challenges their form of absolution (taken from the Episcopal office) as unsound, and also their views in regard to

the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. Then he has found, further, that they use "no invocation of the Immaculate Virgin, or of angels or saints, and that the frozen breath of Protestantism breathes through their service-books from beginning to end." In the midst of making out his case of heresy, the Cardinal seizes the occasion to give a few side blows at the "so-called Gallican Church, miserably begotten by Hyacinthe Loyson," on the following special counts: That it "exterminates confession on the plea of making it again free and moral; does not render to the Virgin the dogmatic title of Mother of God; distinguishes with regard to origin and authority between the canonical and deuterocanonical books of the Bible, and accounts the schismatic Orientals and the Anglicans to belong to the true church." For all these causes, the greater excommunication, — absolution from which, as among the most special cases, is reserved to the Pope himself, — is pronounced against —

1. All those who join this congregation, even if they do so from motives of personal interest or convenience, without the least intention of accepting any heretical teaching.

2. All who take part in its services or listen to its preaching.

3. All who induce others to attend the worship, preaching, or lectures of this sect.

4. All who publish in the public press notices of its sermons or lectures, or the subjects of one or other, because of the favor that they show thus to the spread or the confirmation of heresy.

5. And finally, are declared seriously guilty any who enter the chapel of this congregation merely from curiosity, and much more if they give any assistance to it, even in material matters.

"We should," commented one of the leading daily papers, "be very thankful to the Holy Father for his kindness in letting us still walk through the Via Genoa at all." Others, however, treated this document seriously, seeing in it a grave violation of the rights of the citizen and of the liberty of the press.

The Italian Catholic leaders have met this fire with a pretty effective return. First, they brought out at once their new liturgy, which had been in use during the summer as an altar service, but was not yet published. Then, a few days later, appeared a formal answer or apology, signed by Savarese, Campello, and two other priests, "for the Italian Catholic Church," and a little later, Monsignore Savarese brought out a more lengthy criticism of the Cardinal Vicar's notification, showing the falseness of its assertions and of some of its charges.

The first answer is a temperate and well written paper, which appears in very favorable contrast with the Cardinal Vicar's angry and not always coherent notification. Without recrimination, it meets the accusation of schism with the answer that the Roman Church is not the root, but a branch only, and not a natural one at that, of the one root, even Christ; that the Pope is not the Holy Catholic Church, which existed before the gospel was ever preached in Rome; that the government of the church rests in the universal episcopate, in which all bishops, according to Saint Jerome, are equal, and have, according to Saint Cyprian, an equal part. Though the Italian bishops may have lapsed from the primitive faith and discipline of the church, there yet remains a truly Catholic episcopate in the Oriental, Anglican, and Old Catholic churches. To these bishops the Italian Catholic leaders have turned, and from them they have mission. The charge of heresy is met by the appeal to an-

tiquity and the clear profession of the Nicene faith. The Vatican additions are not found in the Gospels, which contain all that is necessary to salvation. The Pope, as the author of unwarranted and forbidden additions to the faith, has exposed himself to the condemnations of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and is *ipso facto* deposed. They prefer to remain Catholic with the whole Church of the past, rather than believe in his new dogmas. The Cardinal Vicar condemned their liturgy without having seen it, — before it was printed. Rebellion against the Curia is, under certain circumstances, not only lawful but a duty. Even Cardinal Bellarmine teaches this. The real crime of the Italian Catholic Church, in the eyes of the Pope, is its patriotism — its prayers for king and country. A good deal of heresy and even a little schism might have been forgiven; but to be a true Italian, — this is the unpardonable sin that is never forgiven at the Vatican.

When it is remembered that the Italian Catholic priests had rigorously refrained from controversial preaching and were seeking not to draw members from the Roman Church, but to reclaim those who had been driven into infidelity or rationalism by the corruptions of the Roman religion, the Pope's attack seems as unchristian as it is savage. It looks almost as if he was not willing that any should be saved except through himself. The result has been favorable rather than otherwise to the new congregation. The excommunication frightened no one away, but made the movement known to thousands who never before had heard of it, and it has awakened a good deal of kindly feeling towards them. It has strengthened the leaders perceptibly. Having stood fire, they feel that they can do it again. It has helped to make their position clear to themselves and to the country at large. Altogether, for the Italian Catholics, if they use their opportunity wisely, this seems to be one of those occasions when the wrath of man will be made to praise God.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN BERLIN.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN IN BERLIN.

... "Count von Schlümbach is over here this winter, and we have met him several times. I have followed his course with interest, for several years past, since I read in one of our papers some account of his conversion. He is active here in evangelistic labors, in which (we are glad to find) many persons of rank and influence in Berlin are now interesting themselves. We lately attended what is called a 'Thee-Abend' at what used to be one of the lowest dens in Berlin, but is now devoted to charitable and religious uses. Here the poor and degraded are gathered in, taught, entertained, given coffee, etc.; and occasionally a tea-evening is held, when those working, and those interested in their work, meet together for a simple tea-party, and to hear reports and addresses. Two of the court-preachers spoke, the evening when we were present, and Count von Schlümbach made a few stirring remarks. He feels somewhat the needs of his countrymen in our land, and I wish he might induce a few Christian Germans to go back to the United States with him, and work for the multitudes of Germans who need their evangelistic labors in our Western States. I begged him, the other day, to do so; but he says very truly that such Christian men are just the ones who do not emigrate, that we must raise up German workers in our own land chiefly. And the feeling is pretty general here, I fancy, that the United States will

look after the religious wants of those who land on its shores. They do not consider here what the proportion is between the native Christian population and the sea of emigrants which they roll in upon us. The Gustav-Adolf Verein contributes nothing for those who come to us; we are supposed to be wholly equal to the emergency! But it is good, at any rate, to see Germans working here in Berlin. When I look upon such young men as the Counts Fückler and Von Bernstorf, for instance, who give their time and strength to working and lay-preaching among the poor and vicious, I feel that Germany is not to be given over to be a mere intellectual fencing-ground, but that real, vital, Christian power may be revived in it.

"Did you know Mrs. — when you were here? She was a German baroness, but married to an English dissenting clergyman. Since we were here in 1872 her husband has died; having been for several years a great invalid, she became, when first able to drive out, much interested in the drosky-men. She has carried on a very useful work among them ever since, in which court-preachers Frommel and Stöcker have coöperated, and which has led to similar endeavors among hackmen in other cities. Our dear friend Mrs. Dr. — is also very active among the poor. Countess — is another earnest, beneficent woman. The English and American element comes out pretty largely in these religious movements; still, German blood is flowing in the same channels, I am glad to see."

BOOK NOTICES.

PHILOSOPHY AND CHRISTIANITY. A Series of Lectures delivered in New York, in 1883, on the Ely Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By GEORGE S. MORRIS, Ph. D., Professor of Ethics, etc., in the University of Michigan, and Lecturer on Ethics and the History of Philosophy in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Pages xiv., 315. New York, Robert Carter & Brothers. 1883.

This volume is one of the best recent anti-agnostic apologetics. It might aptly be styled "The praise of knowledge" *versus* "The praise of folly." It is a fitting sequel to the author's "Critical Exposition of Kant's Philosophy," published in Griggs's series of "German Philosophic Classics." That was critical of the preëminently critical philosophy of Kant. This volume is mainly constructive. It contains a philosophical vindication of knowledge against all forms of agnosticism — both Kantian and Spencerian. Its most trenchant criticisms, however, are directed against empiricism, which he had previously exposed in his volume on "British Thought and Thinkers." It contains eight lectures first given, as the Ely Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, in the Union Theological Seminary of New York, and afterwards repeated to his class in the Johns Hopkins University, where he holds the chair of philosophy and ethics, as he also does in the University of Michigan. The main object of the volume is to show that intelligence, as such, is the true bulwark and not the enemy of religion. It is not a popular captious reply to current captious assaults upon Christianity. But it is a genuinely philosophical vindication of knowledge — both natural and revealed — as

congenial to human intelligence. Perhaps the best notice we could give of the book would be to transcribe the excellent analytical table of contents prefixed to this very condensed volume of thought. But both table of contents and volume demand and reward most patient, close, and thoughtful study. This may account for a leading religious newspaper's pronouncing it to be "unintelligible." It is, however, a complete "Philosophy of Religion—a philosophical vindication of Christianity as the true and *absolute* religion, that thoughtful Christians cannot afford thus to ignore. For as to a philosophy of religion, it is only a matter of choice for every Christian to have either a good or a bad, a partial or a complete one.

Dr. Morris believes in a Catholic philosophy, and that it is both consonant with and illuminated by the Catholic Faith, which is both its true object and content.

Another religious newspaper characterized the volume as Hegelian. But to call Dr. Morris a Hegelian, one must deduct the pantheism, the determinism, the misty idealism, and the mythical view of historical Christianity, that are rightly or wrongly imputed to that great master of thought. This volume is utterly and radically free from all such truly philosophical and religious heresies. The disclaimer of them is not in words only, but in the very thought of the whole volume. A personal God, man's freedom, responsibility, and immortality, a real world and a historic Christianity—these are the very warp of his web of thought. The best type of a Hegelian, to my mind, if we must call every philosopher by the name of some master, is a *Scotch* Hegelian. I am ignorant of Dr. Morris's nationality. But he has the Scotchman's abiding sense of God's sovereignty, man's responsibility, and a real world both here and hereafter, that forms the best corrective to the erring sides of Hegelianism. He holds philosophy to be neither the origin nor the fundamental stimulus of religion, but rather its scientific analysis—the inevitable sequel of its reception by rational beings.

Again, the author has also been ignorantly and conveniently termed a rationalist, while his whole thought is a vigorous protest against the rationalism of so-called *free thought*. He distinguishes between rationalism and Rationalism. I have no better way, however, of refuting these vulgar and cheap charges of Hegelianism and rationalism, and at the same time of indicating the intent, method, and spirit of the author, than to quote the closing paragraphs of the Appendix of the volume:—

"Reason is the faculty of *insight*, i. e., of essential, thoroughly and completely objective or *experimental intelligence*; understanding is the faculty—if I may so express myself—of *outsight*, or of superficial, *empirical*, contingent *information* respecting external particulars, viewed in abstraction and separation from their essential and vital ground.

"To men of the eighteenth century 'reason' meant 'understanding'; and the self-styled 'Age of Reason' was, accordingly, not the age of true, concrete, vital reason—which, in operation, is simply equivalent to *experience taking true and complete and unprejudiced account of herself*—but rather the age of 'reasons,' of argument or alleging of 'reasons,' *pro and con*, and of consequent 'doubt' respecting all that can be made a subject of argument—as everything can. Let us not, then, confound the 'reason' of Thomas Paine with the reason of Aristotle or of philosophy. And finally, let us not forget that, while any true revelation may be expected to transcend and confound the 'reasonings' of an unvitalized 'understanding,' the very condition of its reception is the existence of reason, as also the condition of its effectiveness is that by it reason finds itself truly illuminated.

"As matter of fact, philosophy has received illumination from the Christian consciousness in regard to its three fundamental conceptions : of the Absolute, of Nature, and of Man. And let it be remembered that when I say 'philosophy,' I do not mean any mere jargon of words nor any arbitrary collection of dogmatic opinions, but philosophic science—the science in the strictest sense, of experience, and of experience taken in the deepest, most comprehensive, truest, and richest sense of the term. Under the influence of the Christian consciousness, then, philosophy has come to a more definite and complete conception of the concrete, living unity of the Absolute as Spirit. It has, secondly, been enabled to conceive and comprehend more distinctly the personal, living relation of the divine Logos to the world. It need hardly be said that, in proportion as this relation is distinctly conceived and its truth perceived, the possibility of a lapse into pure naturalism or pure pantheism is taken away. And, thirdly, Christianity has contributed to philosophy a fuller sense and demonstration of the truth that man is made perfect man, not through mere 'imitation' of God, or 'resemblance' to Him, but 'in one' with Him by an organic union which, so far from interfering with his freedom, is the very condition of his true, *i. e.*, his spiritual freedom and of his true spiritual personality."

Into the power of *such* Rationalism may the good Lord deliver us. Premising that religion is "of" and "for" intelligence, the author first gives an exposition of the philosophical theory of knowing and of being, in which he passes away beyond the old analytical and the current physiological psychology to maintain the full and true content of man's conscious experience as an organic unity of intelligence with intelligence. Finite self-consciousness involves and reveals its dependence on an absolute self-consciousness. Intelligence is light and activity meeting activity and light. It is synthetic, organic, unifying. Then, after specifying the difference of philosophy and religion, he goes on to show that true religion necessarily finds her own lineaments prefigured and the security of her own foundations demonstrated in this philosophic science of knowing and being. This he does at length by showing the consonance of the Biblical theory of knowing and being—of God, the world, and man—with the philosophical theory. God, man, and the world are not absolutely heterogeneous. But they are in a very real sense congenial to each other. God and man are both everywhere in the universe "at home."

Again, the Biblical theory of being involves the Church's doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and this in turn "involves the very key to all true illumination for the intellect." Thus the Trinity is demonstrated to be an attribute of intelligence,—of the known God and of man made in his image, rather than a mystery that does not shine and lighten in dark places. Human reason is not confounded by the content of the Christian consciousness of this tri-personality of Absolute Spirit, but is strengthened, illuminated, satisfied, and completed by it. Knowing God, man comes to know himself truly. Knowing the world and himself—his concrete experience—truly, he comes to know God. It is, however, hopelessly impossible to represent, without reproducing with expository enlargement, the author's demonstration of the difference and the unity of the philosophical and Biblical theories as to God, man, the world, revelation, redemption, ethics, and comparative religion. But it is a volume to be commended to all thoughtful men as one that they cannot afford to leave unread, unmarked, unlearned, and undigested, as they care for a satisfactory philosophy of religion.

J. Macbride Sterrett.

SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL, November, 1884.

FICHTE'S SCIENCE OF KNOWLEDGE. A Critical Exposition. By CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, D. D., Bussey Professor of Theology in Harvard University, Author of "The Science of Thought." Pages xvi., 287. Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Co. 1884.

This is the third volume of the series of "German Philosophical Classics," under the editorship of Professor George S. Morris, of the University of Michigan, and Lecturer in the Johns Hopkins University; two of which, — on "Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason," by Professor Morris, and on "Schelling's Transcendental Idealism," by Professor John Watson, — have already appeared. Other volumes are to follow, on Leibnitz, on other of Kant's works, and on several of the works of Hegel.

The object of these publications is to facilitate the study of these eminent authors for students of philosophy, and to give a clear exposition of their most remarkable works for those not likely to undertake to master the originals. Of these authors no one has been more difficult to understand than Fichte, notwithstanding the precision of his thought; probably for the reason that he presupposed on the part of his readers too much acquaintance with philosophy. He started in his thinking from a mastery of Kant's Critiques, such as few readers have attained, and did not realize how much had to be gone over by others ere they could intelligently *begin* with him to discuss the problems laid open or left unsolved therein. This accounts for the impatience with which he received any dissent or opposition, and his almost contempt for those who failed to understand him.

Among the endeavors to make Fichte comprehensible, to fix his exact attainments in thought, to show the relation of this to what preceded and what followed, it appears to us none have been so successful as this of Professor Everett. While he disclaims any elaborate criticism and professes to aim solely after a faithful reproduction and discrimination of Fichte's solution of the problems of philosophy, yet in this very discrimination there is already involved a criticism, since it is clearly exhibited wherein there has been success and wherein insufficiency in Fichte's endeavor.

Though one opening the book at random and glancing over the pages may regard it as abstruse, yet if even an ordinary reader interested in philosophical questions will begin it and read it through thoughtfully, all this apparent abstruseness will measurably disappear. There is just enough repetition in it, and the elucidation of the same thought from various standpoints, to reduce to a *minimum* the difficulties in understanding Fichte. The effort, too, will be smoothed by the frequent occurrence of felicitous illustrations. The style is as clear as it is possible to make the treatment of such topics, reminding one of the clarity of French authors; and, on the whole, a juster and more satisfactory exposition is not to be hoped for.

Philosophy, objectively considered, is now at a stand-still; though never before were so many fine intellects busy with its problems. The world yet awaits entire agreement as to the results of Hegel's thought, and its absolute value as the starting-point for a new system which shall incorporate it. But no one can think with vantage, now, who has not seized the key of Hegel's thinking in his method. Nor is he in full possession of this till he has made himself acquainted with the attainments of his predecessors, Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. In this endeavor he

will find that work was done by Fichte once for all; and that no one, perhaps, has so subtly thought into and treated the principle of subjectivity.

This present work of Fichte is fundamental, yet to be fully comprehended must be looked back upon from the results attained in his subsequent speculations. These are sufficiently given by Professor Everett to make obvious the objective aim of this earlier treatise. This seems to have been almost purely moral; and of all writers having an ethical end in view, Fichte is one of the most enthusiastic. Kant's rapt admiration of the moral law has with Fichte become a more passionate one, as derived from a still more comprehensive principle than reverence. Where Kant was coldly intellectual and only contemplative, Fichte was warmly loving, and his mind ran out upon practical projects. And his ethical principle only needed to be probed into still more deeply to discover its implication, the personal postulate, and to be, thus, identical with Christian morality.

To exhibit the problems discussed by Fichte and Professor Everett in a manner at all satisfactory and compensating would prolong this notice into an extended review, which, indeed, the book in connection with those which have preceded it fully deserves. We can, however, promise readers that, if they are interested at all, they will be fascinated, and impatient to reach the result of the finely analytical and synthetical processes through which they have been carried.

J. Steinfort Kedney.

SEABURY DIVINITY SCHOOL, Faribault, Minnesota.

THE DESTINY OF MAN VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF HIS ORIGIN. BY JOHN FISKE. 121 pp. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This short treatise, which is substantially an address given before the Concord School of Philosophy, has a value in inverse proportion to its length. It presents in outline the reasonings and conclusions of a thorough-going evolutionist concerning the destiny of man. Attention hitherto has been so eagerly turned backwards to trace the past development of man through the unrecorded ages, and thus to learn by what processes he has become what he now is, that less interest has attached among evolutionists to the future of man. The discussion last summer at Concord concerning immortality gave Mr. Fiske an opportunity, which he has used to good advantage, for claiming that Darwinism instead of degrading, elevates man, that Theism and the belief in immortality rest on more solid foundations than ever. It is refreshing, whatever our views may be as to the part evolution has played, to be assured that religion not only has nothing to fear but very much to welcome, even in the case of extremest theories. We have been accustomed to arguments which go to show that there is no necessary disagreement between Evolution and Religion, and that Christianity suffers no loss even if man is proved to have been developed from lower orders. Mr. Fiske, trudging cheerfully on in the path of evolution without a misgiving or unfavorable prepossession, finds that path leading straight on to God and immortality, and concludes that there is an immense gain for the cherished religious hopes of the race in the very facts and theories which have seemed to Christians so alarming.

Fundamental in the author's discussion is his avowed belief that the universe is developing under a plan. He says that "the creation and

perfecting of Man is the goal toward which Nature's work has all the while been tending." He remarks that the welfare of the species is the "guiding principle" of all changes. He affirms that "the Darwinian theory, properly understood, replaces as much teleology as it destroys," and adds that "from the first dawning of life we see all things working together toward one mighty goal, the evolution of the most exalted spiritual qualities which characterize Humanity." Here is not merely that convenient and intelligible use of purposive phrases, from the occurrence of which in works on evolution it is not usually wise to infer anything about the opinions of writers, but the expressions quoted are indicative of the settled belief of Mr. Fiske in that divine purpose which through the ages runs.

He considers it perfectly sure that Man was destined to stand at the head of animate creation on this planet. The title of one of the chapters is "On the earth there will never be a higher creature than Man." He rests this conclusion chiefly on two facts. One is, "the enormous psychical divergence between Man and the group of animals to which he traces his pedigree." There was a moment, a wonderful moment, when psychical changes began to be of more use than physical changes to the brute ancestor of man. From that silent and unnoticed moment, which was really the beginning of a great revolution, which came like a thief in the night, the profitable variations occurred oftener in the brain, and less often in other parts of the organism. In such language Mr. Fiske describes the vast superiority of man. He is the psychical being. This growth of the cerebrum is associated with the prolongation of infancy and with the various conditions which produce conscious as distinguished from automatic action. The second fact is, that other beings are dependent on man, that all things are put under his feet, that he is acquiring mastery over mechanical and molecular and chemical forces. The author predicts that natural selection will some time occupy a subordinate place in comparison with selection by Man.

The upward social development of man is vigorously sketched. It is shown for what reasons the fighting state is replaced by the industrial state, why men learn to coöperate rather than to contend. The increasing repugnance to warlike methods, which characterizes our own age, is adduced as a prophecy that the time is coming when wars shall cease to the ends of the earth. The progress of civilization in certain directions is found to be coincident with the ideals of Christianity. Evolution has its evangel too, and it is but a response to the gospel's sweetly solemn message of peace on earth and good will to men.

The conclusion is that man is immortal. Mr. Fiske argues this not along lines of demonstration, but by the force of the strongest moral probability. The materialist is charged with bringing in the illegitimate hypothesis of annihilation. Because we know Soul only in connection with Body it by no means follows that rationality and spirituality are only physical functions. The writer challenges the famous remark of Cabanis, that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile. All that is clear concerning the molecular movements of the brain is that they are *concomitants* of thought and feeling. Brain and thought are not cause and effect. Disbelief in the soul's immortality accompanies that philosophy which regards Humanity as "a local incident in an endless and aimless series of cosmical changes." "On the other hand he who regards man as the consummate fruition of creative energy, and the

chief object of Divine care, is almost irresistibly driven to the belief that the soul's career is not completed with its present life upon earth." "The more thoroughly we comprehend that process of evolution by which things have come to be what they are, the more we are likely to feel that to deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in Man is to rob the whole process of its meaning." The author says that his belief can be most quickly defined by its negative, as the refusal to believe that this world is all. The virility of belief in immortality is emphasized by the declaration that it has survived the Copernican revolution in science, which dislodged man from his central position in the universe, and that it has survived the Darwinian revolution, nay, has gathered strength from knowledge of the progress man has already made from his lowly beginnings. Mr. Fiske's reasons for belief in immortality are not new. That belief has always rested on the exalted character of shortlived man, and on the recognition of God's thought and work in the world. But his conclusions are striking, because reached by a comparatively untrodden path.

If criticism were to be made it would be directed towards the view taken of the actual processes of evolution. Some readers, even such as are not unfriendly to Darwinism, will feel that too much is taken for granted as to the mode of development. When Mr. Fiske discusses the relation of brain to thought, he distinguishes happily between causes and concomitants. The same distinction might have been employed in respect of evolution. The mere accompaniments, and even the results, are treated as if they were the causes of development. Description reads as if it were intended for explanation of the great changes which are supposed to have occurred.

It may be questioned also whether geology and biology have yet come to so explicit an agreement concerning time as Mr. Fiske's quiet assumptions would imply. A million years is the shortest time he will be satisfied with to cover man's occupation of the earth. Darwinism still has some unsettled accounts with geology on that score.

It is assumed, as usual in such discussions, that the most ignorant savages represent primeval man. The fact that the Australians and other savages are *degenerate* branches of mankind is altogether ignored.

It is not quite clear what place, if any, Mr. Fiske accords to Christianity. Does he mean that civilization has been advancing *towards* the ideals of the gospel, or has been wrought out *under* the forces of Christianity? He shows that the conceptions of society peculiar to Jesus are coincident with the best sentiments of modern civilization. But was Jesus merely a man in advance of his times, who understood human nature so well that he foresaw the future and predicted that at length the meek would inherit the earth, or did he make the prediction, confident that the spiritual power which he introduced was mighty enough to change society and to renew the heart of man? Were Jesus and Christianity phases of development, mere results of the past, or were they new agencies brought into the world from God for the accomplishment of his eternal plan for Humanity? Is Christianity a mere concomitant, or is it a potent and indispensable cause of progress?

But these criticisms do not touch the real purpose of the book. Its value will be found in the reassurance it may bring to those who cannot deny many of the conclusions of evolution, yet who fear its effects on

religious beliefs, and also in the evidence it affords, that the spiritual in man is supreme, and must be recognized from whatever side the approach may be made.

George Harris.

THE REALITY OF FAITH. By NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of "Old Faiths in New Light," "Orthodox Theology of To-Day," etc. 12mo, pp. xxiii., 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

The reader of Froude's "Life of Carlyle" must be struck with the fact that the church of Scotland made so slight an impression upon Carlyle's religious nature. His parents were both earnest Christians. With them he attended church regularly. He continued so to do while he remained in Scotland. He gained much by inheritance from the church of the past, but almost nothing from the church of his own time. While he is yet young, open-minded and eagerly looking round for help from living men, it is remarkable to hear him declaring that in all Edinburgh Sir William Hamilton is the only man in earnest.

Doubtless the judgment is an exaggeration; nevertheless it is suggestive. It is a commentary upon the character of the Scotch ministry of that time.

Carlyle was a representative man. The questionings and misgivings, the unrest and soul hunger of the rising generation, were working mightily in his heart. The fact that Carlyle found in Scotland no living voice speaking to his troubled life with authority and power is evidence that the preachers of the day were not clear-eyed students of the special need of their time, and that they were not shaping their teachings in response to its urgent and peculiar calls.

What Carlyle could with truth imply of the Scotch clergy of his generation, cannot be said of the ministry in our own land in these days.

The volume of sermons before us is another impressive witness to the fact that the deepest needs of the most vexed and thoughtful men are recognized by our best pulpits and are being addressed with earnestness and power. Carlyle praised Emerson, not on account of any transcendent talent he possessed, but because he spoke from the centre of a life in process of adjustment to the Infinite, and because his utterances had special fitness and real meaning, to many noble spirits in their actual struggles. This praise may be claimed for many Christian pulpits throughout the country to-day. At all events the intelligent reader must accord it to the author of these noble discourses. The title of the book is a good index of its leading excellence: "The Reality of Faith." In this happy phrase there is put before the eye the characteristic need of the times. Everywhere there is a feeling of the unsubstantial nature of spiritual things, everywhere there is more or less of a sad inability in matters of faith; this too along with an evident willingness to believe. "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief," is a motto inscribed on many earnest hearts in these days.

The author of these sermons comprehends this need. Evidently, he represents it in his own experience; and having won his way to conviction of things unseen and eternal, he makes it his most sacred duty to bring home to men's hearts, through their manifold experiences of unrest, the living reality of Christian truth.

Another aspect of the quality in these sermons just noticed may be

indicated in a sentence from the author's preface. "One of our easily besetting sins as religious thinkers and teachers," he says, "is the sin of nominalism in theology," that is, if we understand him, our tendency to deal in words rather than thought, in religious phraseology rather than in the living truth of the gospel. We are apt to confound truth with its expression; and, again, to substitute the expression for the truth. We fail in the discrimination of the spiritual reality of Christianity from the current and consecrated terms with which that reality has been associated. The root of this intellectual vice is lack of spiritual discernment. Its special manifestations may be noted in the substitution of names for spiritual things, and in an inability to recognize and follow the reality of Christian truth in more than one set of terms. Of the two, the second form is perhaps the more common. We see it in the young men of liberal tendencies who are often unable to appreciate in adequate measure the thought by which the fathers lived bravely and died peacefully, because the terms in which it is found are now obsolete. We see it in others who are unable to discern essential Christian truth with which they profess to have lived for years, because that truth appears in modern nineteenth century costume. Thus our Christian truth comes to be known only by the coat it wears. Should it appear in a new, less venerable, but simpler dress it is liable to be disowned and treated as an alien from the commonwealth of Israel.

Dr. Smyth's volume everywhere deals with the realities of the gospel and of human life; everywhere seeks to discover and fix attention upon them. It cannot fail to add spirituality and reality to the reader's thought of the gospel. It must help in freeing him from the bondage of mere words.

In comparison with others of the same general excellence, Dr. Smyth's sermons are noticeable for their Scriptural quality; they take their rise in the Word of God. They are for the most part fresh developments and forcible applications of the truth gathered up in the selected passage. However, the reverence shown for Scripture is not reverence for an external, but for a spiritual, authority, — an authority searching the preacher himself, and winning, in his whole thought of it, recognition as the standard of all true thinking, the test of all healthy feeling and noble living. In evidence of this, the reader is referred to the sermon entitled "The Law of the Resurrection."

These discourses are not all of equal value. The first is of the least. Of preëminent worth and power are the two on "The Christ Likeness of God" and "The Difficulties of Not Believing." We have also found ourselves objecting to the theological form in which a few of the sermons are cast. To us it seemed to detract from their power as sermons, without giving them the accuracy and fullness of the theological essay. Altogether, however, we deem the book rare and noble, worthy of grateful recognition from all Christians and of the widest circulation. It is such a book as mere talent could not make. Talent, with grace in the heart added, could not do it. There is everywhere manifested in the work distinctive religious genius. While we have been reading it, we could not but think of scores to whom it might bring light and peace.

George A. Gordon.

BOSTON, MASS.

TEACHERS AND TEACHING. By HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, D. D., editor of "The Sunday-School Times."

This is a scientific book on Sunday-schools. One may easily be amused at the attempt to give a scientific treatment to a style of work that usually occupies precisely twenty-five minutes a week by the watch, an equal length of time being added before and after for the singing of dubious poetry to dubious music. But Dr. Trumbull has devoted a life, already not a short one, to the study and perfecting of this very brief and intermittent institution for the instruction of children and youth in the highest knowledge possible to the human mind. He believes in its capabilities and in its results. And he has reason for his faith. The bald statement of the Sunday-school work we have just made gives no just conception of its power. It has adjuncts and relations that cover with their network whole congregations and communities. Next to the local church itself, or rather as a part of the local church, it has grown from a mere spelling-school where poor children might learn their letters, till it has come to include many of the largest and most precious interests of the church of Christ.

It is such an institution which Dr. Trumbull has in this volume undertaken to shape into a scientific form. His enthusiasm is aroused by its capabilities; his soul is stirred to its depths by its actual defects. He goes about the work of criticism by carrying on the work of construction.

The ground is occupied in a defined, orderly, and comprehensive way. The arrangement is thoroughly logical. The two parts treat of the Sunday-school teacher in his totality — Part I. informing him of his duty while teaching, and Part II. of his duty when not teaching, so far as the Sunday-school is affected. The teaching process is discussed as to its nature, its essentials, its elements, its methods.

Each of these four divisions is thoroughly subdivided. For example, *methods* are discussed under the three topics: Methods in preparation, in practice, and in review, or "new-viewing." Then we have: How to study the scholars; how to study the lesson; how to plan the teaching; how to hold attention; how to make the teaching clear; how to secure the coöperation of the scholars, etc., etc.

It soon becomes plain to the reader that the man who wrote this book understands the science of teaching, and that he is full of the scientific spirit.

No one should suppose that this indicates a dull book or a tedious one. The extreme brevity of some of the chapters reminds one of the formidable captions in "Lawrence Sterne," followed by a text of perhaps a single line.

The style, also, is vivacious and clear, and anecdotes — all of them pertinent, some of them capital — bristle on every page.

We give a most hearty commendation to the book. The transcendent importance of the Sunday-school and its adjuncts, in the life and work of our churches, justifies the employment of the highest administrative ability upon its management. It is a blessing to be grateful for that a man of Dr. Trumbull's ability and energy has become so completely absorbed in the institution, and that in this volume he has reduced it to an order and efficiency that would not do discredit to a military school or a great university.

John Putnam Gulliver.

THE PAROUSIA. A Critical Study of the Scripture Doctrines of Christ's Second Coming; His Reign as King: The Resurrection of the Dead and the General Judgment. Second edition. By ISRAEL P. WARREN, D. D. Portland, Me.: Hoyt, Fogg & Dunham.

This book is an endeavor to recast the church doctrine of our Lord's second coming. The author claims that this doctrine has grown out of a mistranslation of *παρουσία*, which should always be rendered "presence." Christ's *παρουσία* meant to the Apostles his spiritual presence on the earth. "It is not an event but a dispensation." The adoption of this conception of the parousia, it is claimed, would remove the great difficulties presented under the ordinary view by Christ's predictions, "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here who shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom," and, "Verily I say unto you this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." Those parts of Christ's parousia-discourse which have been supposed to predict great cosmic phenomena attending our Lord's second coming are a symbolic representation of the significance which his spiritual presence has for the human race. The reign which the parousia ushers in is Christ's dominion in the hearts of his people. The resurrection takes place at death, and is the investiture of the *πνεῦμα* with a spiritual corporeity. Its being spoken of as taking place in immediate connection with the *παρουσία* means that one consequence of Christ's being raised from the grave to be the mediatorial king is that he will take Christian believers at death directly into heaven to be forever there with him. The judgment is not a future event, but a continuous process, the separation of the evil from the good which is an inevitable consequence of Christ's redeeming presence in the world.

Dr. Warren presents the conception we have imperfectly outlined as better than the old because the result of a sounder exegesis. His book claims to be "a critical study." When the test suggested by this claim is applied to it, its fatal defect is found to be that it bases the theory advanced chiefly upon an interpretation claimed for a single word, and one which plays an unimportant part in those predictions of Christ which are the kernel of the New Testament doctrine in question. Every satisfactory discussion of the subject must begin by an examination of our Saviour's predictions as to his coming (for he uses the word again and again) in their connection with the rest of his teaching and with the Old Testament Scriptures. Such examination cannot, of course, be entered upon here. It may be said, however, that as Christ puts his coming in temporal connections, describing the events which go before it and find their consummation in it, it is more natural to regard it as an "event" than a "dispensation." One of the leading features of the parousia-discourse as given by Matthew and Mark is the pains taken in it to show the position which the parousia occupies in the historical connection of events. The discourse evidently purposes to be a narration, moving on a temporal line. Its account of the second coming of Christ cannot, therefore, be ruled by the meaning of *παρουσία*. Nor can that assigned to the word in this book be established. "What shall be the sign of thy parousia, and of the end of the age?" An event is evidently meant which shall close the Christian dispensation. "We that are left unto the parousia of the Lord." The preposition *ἐς* shows that the earthly existence of those spoken of is conceived as stretching on until it meets the parousia. If it were the spiritual presence already enjoyed, the prediction would be with-

out meaning. "God comforted us by the coming of Titus, and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your longing, your zeal," etc., that is, Titus' coming and bringing a good report from the Church in Corinth comforted Paul's heart.

Dr. Warren in the following sentences rather strangely claims the authority of the Revisers of the English New Testament for his interpretation of *παρουσία*: "It is in the highest degree confirmatory of this conclusion, that the Revised Version in every instance where it does not put *presence* into the text as the representative of *parousia*, inserts the marginal note, 'Gr. *presence*,' thus affirming that such is its real meaning. Why the Revisers did not themselves place it in the text where it belongs they do not inform us." This is perhaps the severest charge yet brought against the unhappy Revisers, that of both knowingly perverting the meaning of the text and stultifying themselves by proclaiming the fact. But if Dr. Warren had only learned from their preface what they meant to "affirm" by the marginal readings in question, he would not have preferred it. These readings evidently belong to the "notes indicating the exact rendering of words to which for the sake of English idiom we were obliged to give a less exact rendering in the text."

"Coming" is used for "presence," then, because the latter would make an unidiomatic sentence. Let us take one of the sentences in which the substitution is made. "I rejoice at the coming [*ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ*] of Stephanas." The "rejoice at" stands of course as the Revisers' declaration as to what *συγχαίρω ἐν* must mean (here, at any rate) that is, the expression of joy occasioned by something that has taken place. When they say, then, that the sentence strictly construed means, "I rejoice at the presence of Stephanas," they evidently intend by "presence," not a presence regarded as Dr. Warren claims, in its continuance, but in its inception, "becoming present." So in general, where they claim the right to substitute "coming" for "presence" as the translation of *παρουσία* they assume that *παρουσία* means not, as Dr. Warren says, "being with us," without reference to how it began, but "beginning to be with us." Where the word has the former meaning they insert the "presence" in the text, as in Phil. i. 26.

Perhaps the Revisers should be censured for not taking pains to show that they meant by the "presence," for which they substitute "coming," presence viewed in its beginning. But those who admit that they could presume that their critics would accredit them with a respectable knowledge of Greek lexicography will exonerate them. Dr. Warren seems to find the conduct of the English translators as mysterious as that of the Revisers. "Why," he says, "the translators always gave it (*ε-*) this comparatively infrequent signification (*at*) in this connection (with *ἡ παρουσία*) does not appear." Why, for example, they should have said "before our Lord Jesus Christ *at* his coming" instead of "*in* his coming" is indeed a sad mystery. I can hardly help thinking that, though he is too reverent to say it, our author is even more tried by the Apostle Paul's use of language. Why a rational being, not to say an inspired Apostle, should write "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trump of God," when he meant that Christ was about to set up his spiritual kingdom on the earth, is a problem from which he must often have had to wrench his mind away. A suggestion of the struggles which the con-

temptation of it must have caused a mind to undergo which clings to a high theory of inspiration is given in words of our author used in another connection: "Do not the brethren see that this is a violation of the fundamental meaning of words?"

Edward Y. Hincks.

THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, B. A., D. D. 8vo, pp. xx., 200. New York: Scribner and Welford. 1884.

This work appears at an opportune moment. Many friends of the Bible have feared they must abate something of its claims to historic accuracy. Here, as heretofore, the very stones cry out in behalf of the truth of the Sacred Record.

The author's object is to restore the Empire of the Hittites to its rightful place among the peoples of the past, in accordance with the scattered allusions of the Old Testament. With a certain fragmentariness, yet general conclusiveness, he has accomplished his end. His method is inductive. In one chapter he cites the monuments of Egypt. These show Hittite kings the rivals of the Pharaohs in peace and war from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasty. Next come the Assyrian inscriptions, in which the Hittites are named in the nineteenth century, are dominant from Euphrates to Lebanon in the twelfth century, to be overthrown, only after other centuries of struggle and hundreds of campaigns, by Sargon II. at the capture of Carchemish, 717 B. C. This powerful race had its art. They excelled in embossed and repoussée silverwork. Their animal forms were often composite, as in the double-headed eagle, adopted by the Seljukian sultans, and carried by the Crusaders to the German states. Prior to the Phœnician alphabet the Hittites had a syllabic writing. The Hittite copy of the treaty of peace with Egypt, covering a silver plate, was written in Hittite script, illustrated by figures. Wherever they carried their arms, the Hittites carried their religion. At Ephesus their goddess Atargatis became the fructifying Artemis; her priestesses with double headed axe became Amazons wherever the Greeks were. The Hittites sprang from the Anatolian plateau east of the Halys. They stretched from the frontiers of Egypt to the shores of the Ægean; and wearing a shaven head with a single lock from the crown, they were more a Scythic or Turanian than a Semitic people, the Kheta of the Nile monuments, the Khattai of the Tigris slabs, the Keteioi of Homer.

Than this great warrior race, what onset could well have been more formidable to the Syrians of II. Kings, vii. 6, 7. According to the sacred writer, "The Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another: Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the *Hittites*, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us. Wherefore they arose, and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their lives." From the inscriptions Dr. Wright shows that precisely at this time the Hittite chiefs were conspicuous among kings and nations for their "swift chariots, and their horses, and their engines of war." He thus impales Prof. W. F. Newman, who has allowed himself to sneer at the manifest *unhistorical* tone of the sacred narrative, even to say that the Syrians might have fled in a panic, but their particular ground of alarm "does not exhibit the (sacred) writer's acquaintance with the times

in a very favorable light." Not the Jewish, but the English, writer's ignorance comes out in the statement — "No Hittite kings can have compared in power with the king of Judah, the real and near ally, who is not named at all." The fact is precisely the reverse.

The book is enriched with a Hittite map by Colonel Wilson and Captain Conder, and with a complete set of Hittite inscriptions revised by Mr. W. H. Rylands, F. S. A. There is also a chapter on the Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions, by Professor A. H. Sayce. Dr. Wright furnishes at the start a readable account of the securing of the inscriptions. What Burekhardt had discovered sixty years before in Hamah, Wright, in November, 1872, set out from Damascus to acquire. Native suspicion and angry mobs had foiled others. Now an honest governor had come, and was making a tour of inspection with a train of parasites a mile in length. With Subhi Pasha's aid Dr. Wright found the inscriptions, and had the stones moved by an army of shouting men who kept the city in uproar for a whole day. When the Muezzin summoned the faithful to the sunset prayer, the last stone was secured. Hamah was stirred to its foundation. What meant it that a Protestant missionary and British consul were traveling with the Moslem governor of Syria? A meteoric shower fell that night. It seemed Heaven's wrath against Hamah, should the sacred stones be removed, even to the Sublime Porte. In the morning came a deputation. Green turbans and white squatted, smoked, and pleaded before the Pasha. He asked them, gravely, "If the stars had hurt any one." They replied, "They had not." "Ah!" said the Pasha, brightening up and speaking with a cheery ringing voice that even the guards outside the door might hear; "the omens were good. They indicated the shining approbation of Allah on your loyalty in sending these precious stones to your beloved Khalif, the Father of the Faithful." The deputation rose. Each man kissed the governor's hand and retired. Three days' cleaning followed. When the dust of ages had been scrubbed away, and a camel load of gypsum had been reduced to powder, two plaster casts were taken. The work was done in the face of hourly attempts to decoy the workers away, and the British Museum and the Palestine Exploration Fund received the casts, which put into the hands of scholars invaluable fac-similes. Dr. Wright's suggestion that they were Hittite inscriptions, although derided by most at the time, has been endorsed since by men of the greatest learning. For this, and for his book, he is entitled to the thanks of all lovers not of the Bible only, but of language, history, and art.

John Phelps Taylor.

PRaise SONGS OF ISRAEL, a New Rendering of the Book of Psalms. By JOHN DEWITT, D. D., of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; a member of the American Old Testament Revision Company. 8vo, pp. xx., 219. New York: Richard Brinkerhoff. 1884.

This translation is the fruit of sound learning and of great and patient labor. It will take a very high place among the English versions of the Psalms. We commend it to every lover of the Praise Songs of Israel. It is to be followed by a volume of explanatory notes, which will be looked for with interest. We reserve a more extended notice until its appearance.

George F. Moore.

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH. A New Translation with Commentary and Appendices. By the REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A. Third edition, revised. 8vo. Two vols. in one, pp. xi., 310, xii., 317. New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1884.

The author's earlier works on Isaiah (*Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah*, 1868; *The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged, etc.*, 1870) were followed in 1880 by the first edition of this commentary. A second edition appeared in 1882, and now the third lies before us — sufficient evidence of the welcome it has found among students of the Old Testament. Its success has been well deserved; its merits are conspicuous. The author has brought to his task long and thorough studies, a rare acquaintance with the enormous literature of comment and criticism on Isaiah, a sober English judgment, and earnest religious feeling. Upon critical questions he occupies a more independent, and a more conservative position than in his former work. Indeed, in the *Essays* where the question of the composition of the book is discussed he expresses himself with a reserve which many readers will probably find disappointing. This reserve is dictated by a principle which the author has more than once stated and defended, namely, that a more thorough study and, if possible, solution, of the exegetical difficulties must precede the fruitful investigation of critical problems. He would present in his commentary the results of a "self-denying and theory-denying exegesis." Whether this method is the best, whether exegetical problems and critical problems which often present themselves together can be so disentangled that the exegete can satisfactorily accomplish his task with complete suspension of the critical judgment is to me very doubtful. But within the limits the author has set for himself, as a purely exegetical commentary this must be accorded a very high rank. It presents the conclusions of an admirable scholarship in a form which is in the best sense popular. By collecting the critical and philological notes on the Hebrew text in an appendix, and by denying himself the cheap display of erudition, a bewildering array of conflicting opinions and catalogues of commentator's names, he has made a commentary which can be read — a somewhat uncommon excellence.

Cheyne has used much more thoroughly than has been done elsewhere the results of Assyrian research so far as they throw light upon the occasional prophecies. We observe that he still stands by his earlier view about Sargon's invasion of Judah, and the prophecies then delivered, notwithstanding the criticisms of Robertson Smith, and the defection of his most important ally, Schrader.

In the successive editions he has gone over his work carefully, and as compared with the first, the new edition shows on almost every page traces of revision. Sometimes the dispersion of the matter has accidentally brought with it slight discrepancies between the Commentary and the Critical Notes. We have noticed, for example, that c. 5, verse 17, is dropped in the translation and commentary, without any remark, while in the critical note (ii. p. 138 f.) a different treatment of it is presupposed. The Critical Notes have been considerably enriched; twenty-six pages in the first edition have grown to forty, and they are so good that the student will wish they were yet fuller.

The *Essays*, in which various questions of hermeneutics, criticism, and Biblical theology are discussed, remain, with slight changes, as in the first edition. Only the one on *The Royal Messiah in Genesis* has been

replaced by one on The Suffering Messiah. We have been greatly interested and profited by a re-reading of them. The American edition — from English plates, if we are not mistaken — is in every respect satisfactory; and we rejoice that a commentary which must be marked “indispensable” is thus put within the reach of a larger number of those who love the great prophet.

George F. Moore.

HEBREW LESSONS: A Book for Beginners. By H. G. MITCHELL, Ph. D., Professor in the School of Theology of Boston University. Pages vi, 164, 68. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1884.

A Hebrew Grammar and Exercise Book expressly adapted to the wants of students who have to begin the study of the language in the Theological Seminary, a book thoroughly up with the recent advances in scientific study, which puts the necessary facts in the way in which they can be best and soonest mastered by mature students, is greatly needed. The present work has grown out of class-room notes prepared by the author to meet the need as he felt it in his own teaching. The first part (164 pages) contains the elements of the grammar with exercises in reading and writing Hebrew; the second (68 pages) has select chapters from Genesis, the Book of Ruth (unpointed), with brief notes and a double vocabulary.

The matter in the first part is arranged with a view to a natural and rapid progress, and will no doubt be found well adapted to that end. The grammatical phenomena are set forth very concisely and, except in a few cases, very clearly, though sometimes with a bewildering minuteness of division and subdivision. It is, however, unfortunate that the principles stated are so seldom illustrated by examples, the place of which can only imperfectly be supplied by the exercises. In a case like the pointing of the article, for example (p. 46), few students have imagination enough to get hold of its perplexing variations from the bare rule. It is also to be counted a fault that the exercises contain so many forms which do not actually occur in Biblical Hebrew. Such forms are a necessary evil in paradigms, if we must have them, but it is not difficult to avoid them in illustrations and exercises. We regret, too, that the author has not followed the good example of Strack in giving only in transcription assumed or historical forms which are not Hebrew. Thus on page 20 it is misleading to say that *דָּוִד* is the original form of the pronoun 3 pl. m., since it gives the impression that it is an original or older Hebrew form.

These are minor matters. It is a more serious thing that the author in his explanations so often quite disregards the origin and history of the forms. For example: on page 6, concerning the syllable, we read: “At the beginning, except in one case hereafter to be explained, a syllable must have a consonant. It may have two, but no more, without an intervening vowel. In the latter case, however, the pronunciation of these consonants is assisted by the introduction of a *shewa*.” Would the author derive a noun like *יָסוֹד*, or a construct like *בְּבֵר יִדְוָה*, from *ysôd*, *kbôd*, which being unpronounceable, to Semitic organs at least, a vocal *shewa* is introduced to assist the pronunciation of the two consonants? So on page 9 the explanation of the origin of the first vowel

in such forms as כָּנַסְל as the introduction of a short vowel to prevent the violation of a rule which forbids a syllable to begin with three consonants, is entirely artificial. It assumes that the preposition is originally vowelless, which is incorrect. Equally unreal is the formation of the imperfect (page 19) — יִכְרַב = יִכְרַב + י.

Still worse is this: (p. 22) "The characteristic vowel of the perfect is \bar{a} . In the imperfect, the imperative, and the infinitive construct it is replaced by \bar{e} [fr. \bar{e}]. In the infinitive absolute this latter vowel is further lengthened, becoming an immutable \bar{u} ." In reality the \bar{o} of the inf. abs. has not arisen by lengthening the \bar{o} (fr. \bar{u}) of the cstr., but from \bar{a} . The abs. and constr. represent respectively the forms *kätül* and *ktül* = *kütü*. In the treatment of verbs *mediae geminatae* (p. 99 ff.) no intimation is given that in *kal* perfect any other than contracted forms occur. The results of Boettcher's exhaustive statistic (II. 478 f., cf. König, I. 321) are quite overlooked. On page 139 \bar{a} is said to take Methegh only before a composite *shewa*. See, however, Baer's Isaiah, p. viii., and Is. xlix. 18; lxx. 3: *Metheg-Setzung*, § 24.

In its external make-up this book claims unstinted praise. The type is beautifully clear, and in freedom from the misprints and broken points which are so annoying to beginners it reaches the highest point of excellence.

G. F. Moore.

AN ELEMENTARY HEBREW GRAMMAR AND READING BOOK. By EDWARD C. MITCHELL, D. D. 94 pp. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1884.

We are sorry to see the name of a scholar who is capable of better things, and of a publisher to whom theological learning in this country owes so much, upon a worthless compilation like this. The first part contains Grammatical Notes, or Principles of Hebrew Grammar. The character of these principles can be best appreciated from specimens: *e. g.*, "The ideal Hebrew syllable is composed of three measures of quantity, of which a consonant forms one, a short vowel one, and a long vowel two." "Shewa—this is the only thing which is said about it—indicates the intentional omission of a vowel. The consonant over it must be articulated alone, or joined with a preceding vowel."

The second part consists chiefly of extracts from Kautzsch's "Übungsbuch,"—a fact of which acknowledgment should have been made; Kautzsch's exercises for translation into Hebrew are however all omitted, and there are no vocabularies. Part Third contains selections from Scripture (Gen. i.–iii.; 2 K. ii.) with notes; observations on Hebrew Poetry, with some examples, and three pages of *Hebraice reddenda*, principally from Greek (Dan. iii. 25 ff. etc.); finally, exercises in unpointed Hebrew. The whole swarms with misprints.

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Die Kunst gemeinsatzlicher Darstellung. Von Dr. Martin Hammerich. Aus dem Dänischen von Al. Michelsen. Pp. 215. Leipzig: *Ib.* 1884.

Predigt und Vorträge gehalten bei der 25jährigen Jubelfeier der Meissner Konferenz von Oberconsistorialrath Dr. Rüling in Dresden, Consistorialrath Prof. Dr. Fricke, Consistorialrath Prof. Dr. Baur, Prof. Dr. Wold. Schmidt und Prof. Dr. Rud. Hofmann in Leipzig. Pp. 108. Leipzig: *Ib.* 1884.

Freimauerthum v. Christenthum. Von Dr. Fr. Niessen, Professor d. Kirchengeschichte zu Kopenhagen. Deutsch von Dr. A. Michelsen. Dritte Auflage. Pp. 130. Leipzig: *Ib.* 1884.

A. Ebrard: Ein Totentanz, und M. Rowel: Briefe aus d. Hölle. Zwei bedeutsame neuere Dichtungen über Zustände des Jenseits. Vortrag von Lic. Theol. L. Weber, Pfarrer in M.-Gladbach. Pp. 31. Leipzig: *Ib.* 1884.

Unter Christi Kreuz. Erzählungen von M. Rowel, Verfasser, u. s. w. Aus dem Dänischen v. Oscar Nothnagel. Pp. 205. Leipzig: *Ib.* 1884.

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